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# FAMILY AND COMMUNITY IN IRELAND

BY

CONRAD M. ARENSBERG
*Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

AND

SOLON T. KIMBALL
*United States Soil Conservation Service*

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[pp. i & ii have no textual materials]

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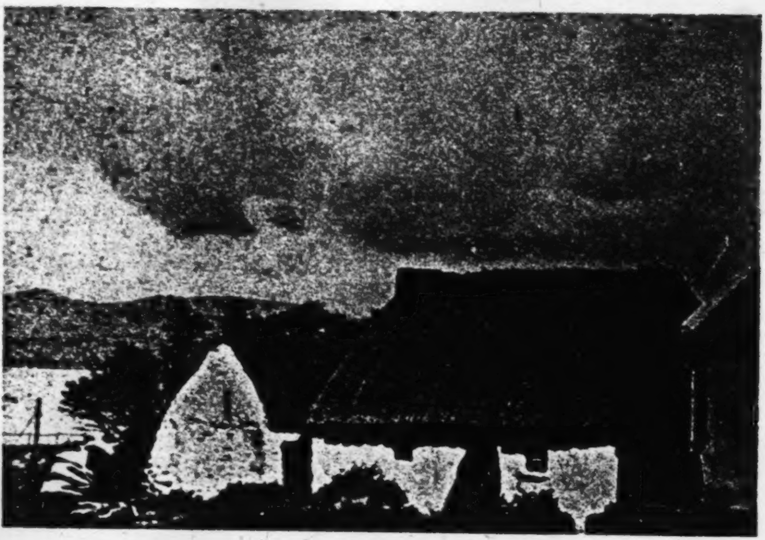

*An Irish Cottage*

[facing p. iii]

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*To*
EARNEST ALBERT HOOTON

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## PREFACE

000 UNTIL very recently the study of modern social life has been neglected by social anthropologists. In their zeal to understand human social behavior they have not hesitated to study such complex and populous communities as those of India and China or such simple groups as those of New Guinea and Australia. Their failure to study our own society has not been mere oversight, and not entirely because the subject attracted young men who found in it an excuse for faraway adventure among exotic peoples.

Anthropology has been defined by many ethnologists as "the science of man and his works." Yet they themselves have stubbornly refused to accept the validity of this definition. Physical anthropologists have studied men of the modern world as well as those of other races and societies. Archaeologists have done research on the prehistories of both modern and primitive man. But ethnologists have separated modern and primitive society and declared our own social life to be outside the "science of man." This limitation is the result, in part, of the development of anthropology out of the interests of early travelers, who came back from other lands with accounts of customs far different from our own; in part, of academic conservatism and timidity. But probably the most important influence is the uselessness of the methods and theories of the older ethnologists — historical rather than analytical — for the investigation of modern life.

Most older anthropologists, and many contemporary ones as well, insist that anthropology is and should be only a form of history, a study of historical origins and development. All else, including much of the discipline calling itself social anthropology, is illegitimate. With the increase of Émile

000 Durkheim's influence upon modern European and American anthropology, however, social anthropology has become a social science investigating the nature of social behavior with hypotheses tested inductively by comparative research upon societies of diverse types. Already ethnographic descriptions of several hundred tribes and communities from all parts of the world have led to the making of simple generalizations about these groups, their institutions, and their means of solving the problems of human existence. Some modern anthropologists have come to realize that the diverse communities of the world can be classified in a range of varying degrees of simplicity and complexity, much as animal organisms have been classified, and that our understanding of each group will be greatly enhanced by our knowledge of its comparative position among the social systems of the world.

Once a comparative sociology seems possible, the next step is to include modern society in the scheme of classification. Euro-American society is one of a few highly differentiated cultures which lie at the extreme pole of complexity. Obviously, if we are to study properly variations in human behavior and arrive at adequate generalizations, it is necessary to examine the most complex groups along with the simplest ones. Inevitably, we must bring our own society into such a study. For example, any examination of simple societies demonstrates that most of them have fully developed family and kinship systems, which pervade their whole community life, but simple, undifferentiated economic orders. In more complex societies — as in China and India — economic institutions have grown in importance, and those of family life have decreased. Yet the latter are still of great influence, and much is to be learned from the interdependence of the two. When our own society is added to the range of complexity, our understanding of the connections of these two kinds of social behavior is greatly increased. Our family life has declined, and our economic life has grown immensely in scope, and the mechanism of the change can be compared with that in more simple societies. 080

It is plain that, if we are to develop a full-grown comparative social science of man, the communities of modern life must be included among those studied by anthropologists. If this means that the subject matter of ethnology is the same as that of sociology, so much the better. Anthropologists may then make effective use of sociological methods, sociologists of anthropological ones.

In accordance with these tendencies, when the Department of Anthropology at Harvard began a study of Ireland under the general direction of Professor Earnest A. Hooton, it was decided to send three types of investigators into the field: physical anthropologists, archaeologists, and social anthropologists. As I was at Harvard at that time, I had the pleasure of acting as director of the work of the social anthropologists, Dr. Kimball and Dr. Arensberg. In the summer of 1931 I made a preliminary survey of the twenty-six counties of the Irish Free State and chose County Clare as most likely to fulfill our needs — a county in which there was a blending of older Gaelic and modern British influences, and one that was neither entirely Gaelic nor entirely English in speech. Dr. Arensberg and I settled in Clare in the summer of 1932 and began the task of collecting the necessary ethnographic data. At the end of the summer I returned to Harvard. Dr. Arensberg remained in Clare, where he was later joined by Dr. Kimball, and the two men continued their field work for a period of almost two years. The book that has grown out of their experience there is an excellent contribution to our ever-growing body of knowledge of the communities of the world. From such knowledge we may sometime expect a comparative science of the social life of man. 114

W. Lloyd Warner

University of Chicago
*November, 1939*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

000 IT BEFITS the science of man that its practitioners should depend entirely upon human support and human kindness. The number of persons to whom the two authors have repaired, severally and collectively, is larger than can appear here. We can only hope that the many whom we cannot name will know, as we do, how impossible the production of this book would have been without the help they gave.

To the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University we owe the original project, much of its support, and constant stimulation and encouragement over the years during and after our connections there. Dr. Earnest A. Hooton begat the project out of a fertile imagination and a wide vision of mankind, nourished it, and kept a fatherly eye upon it to the end. Mr. William Lloyd Warner, now of the University of Chicago, taught us social science by precept and field work by example, combining roles of teacher and friend that continue to this day. Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer aided and encouraged us. Dr. Carleton Coon and Dr. Eliot Chapple helped us retain the perspective of ethnology. The [122] Society of Fellows of Harvard University made it possible for one of us to bring the work to completion, with generous provision of freedom for research and allowance for travel. The Sheldon Fund gave the other of us a year and more of field work. Generous friends of Irish scholarship in Boston contributed to the project of which our work was a small part. Dr. Lawrence J. Henderson and Dr. Carle C. Zimmerman helped us to fuller views of social and rural study. Dr. Elton Mayo and Dr. Fritz Roethlisberger gave us criticisms and comparisons of interest. The staff of the Peabody Museum, under Mr. Donald Scott, and our archaeological colleagues, Dr. Hugh O'Neill Hencken, Dr. Hallam Movius,

[p. xi, p. x is blank]

and Mr. John Otis Brew, made our way easy and pleasant both at home and abroad.

Without the gracious aid of many people in Ireland, our task would have been an impossibility. Dr. Eoin MacNeill and Dr. George O'Brien introduced us to the past and present of their country. Dr. Henry Kennedy set us upon the study of agriculture. Dr. Seamus O Duilearga paved our way among the country people. Mr. Patrick Meghen, then Commissioner for Ennis, Mr. Dermot Gleeson, District Justice, Dr. Daniel Coghlan, of the Land Commission, Mr. Michael J. Carey, Secretary of the County Council, Mr. Edward J. Kerin, County Councillor, Dr. Donough MacNamara, Colonel O'Callaghan-Westrupp, the Right Reverend Dr. Fogarty, Bishop of Killaloe, were only a few among our hosts and benefactors in County Clare, too many to name in full. We owe our gratitude to the members, officials, and employees of the Ennis Urban Council; the clergy of the Diocese and in particular of the Diocesan College; the officials of the local branch of the Irish Land Commission; the teachers of both National and Christian Brothers schools; the officers and men of the Garda Siochana; and the members of the legal and medical professions. The people of both town and country in County Clare deserve only praise and gratitude for the warmth of their traditional hospitality and the intelligence of their sympathy with our inquiry. Chief among them are the kind and generous folk among whom we lived in the country districts.

In preparing our materials for publication we had the assistance of Mrs. Grace Senders Dane, Mrs. Frances Mattison Hill, Miss Josephine Thompson, and, particularly with proofs and style, Mrs. Margaret Arensberg. Mrs. Arensberg's labor has made possible whatever grace the book may have.

The figures were prepared by Miss Helen Mitchell. The illustrations were furnished us through the courtesy of The

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March of Time, Inc., and Dr. C. W. Dupertuis. Permission to reprint certain matter copyrighted by Macmillan and Company, Ltd., is acknowledged elsewhere. 000

And, last, an apology due the Republic of Eire. The work here reported was done while she was as yet still the Irish Free State; the Ireland of these pages is today the sovereign state of Eire.

C.M.A.
S.T.K.

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
*December, 1939*

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# INTRODUCTION

121 OBJECTIVE study of contemporary social behavior has already begun, in recent years, to yield a new field of inquiry into human relations and human activity. Community studies, social surveys, industrial descriptions, and collections of folk culture and folk custom are beginning to put the investigation of modern Euro-American social life on a par with the ethnology of non-European peoples. The company of such reports is still very small, but it has a healthy growth. There is as yet no common name for them, and the scientific interest behind them has ranged very widely, from psychology to population study or economic history. Nevertheless, the basis for a comparative sociology, or social anthropology if you will, of all the world's peoples, both modern and "primitive," is gradually emerging. The present work is a small attempt to place rural southern Ireland on the roster. It submits a description of certain aspects of contemporary Irish "folk culture."

Ireland really has no need of people to represent her. Her writers, statesmen, and emigrants have carried her story far beyond the limits of the English-speaking world. The history of her agrarian movements and reforms and the renascence of her autonomy in political and cultural life have been amply documented. Yet the major social and economic conditions of her existence have been presented only through literary or political commentary and controversy. Consequently, an inquiry into sociological matters in the rural hinterland of the country, aiming at a description of the social matrix out of which her rich tradition springs, breaks new ground. The following report of inquiry into the several aspects of rural life in the south and west, carried on in a limited area by two foreigners,

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121 is offered to the Irish people as a merest beginning in a task they themselves are best equipped to carry on. The country that has taken a place once again among the free nations of the world deserves to be thoroughly known. It deserves to be put forward among students of human affairs as an example of human life and human achievement unique in respect to history and tradition but similar to others the world over in respect to human relations and organization.

Yet the book that follows studies only a very few of the many aspects of contemporary Irish social life. In the course of field work the problem of the influence of family structure and kinship early forced itself into the center of the stage. The form of the community and the lives of its members could not be understood apart from the kind of relations among persons bound by blood and marriage which the country people exhibited. That influence, therefore, became the principal area of investigation. For this reason this report upon field work is a descriptive account of the connection between several aspects of community life among the small farmers of County Clare, which was the region visited, and the system of ordering family relationships to be found among them.

Though the work deals with rural communities, the authors do not intend it to be in any sense a community study or social survey. Intensive observation brought the authors into intimate contact with three small communities, whose names will appear very often. But their field work was not directed toward discovering what was particular to these. It was aimed at a larger problem. It was based on an assumption fundamental to anthropological theory today. It assumed that the chief determinant factor in human society may well be human activity itself. The question behind the authors' inquiries was couched in terms of this hypothesis. What could they learn to help them to an explanation of the uniformities of human action by following the influence of one kind of activity of human culture upon another? Their results have thus always the same general form: men do these things because they do those others. The nature of the causality remains another question, but the connections observed must first be stated. 121

Consequently the book deals with indices, particularly statistical ones, describing all the Irish rural folk. It treats the Irish countrymen and countrywomen actually observed and interviewed as instances of a general condition to which such indices might refer. The instance illuminates the index; two knowns thus forecast the unknown generality. Whether the procedure is legitimate, the authors do not argue here; they merely make use of it. The three communities that appear from time to time in the following pages are thus samples, just as County Clare itself is a sample, a fairly representative mean among the major social and economic conditions in Ireland upon which there was documentation in the year 1932.

A good deal of the material presented here has been presented before, though rather differently. Several passages will be familiar to those who have read *The Irish Countryman* by one of the authors, Conrad M. Arensberg. Chapter X is in great part a reprint from that work. The authors are deeply indebted to the publishers, the Macmillan Company of London, for permission to include such materials here. They make the inclusion in order to put the behavior described in its perspective in relation to the other topics discussed here. Without it, the present story of mutual dependence and functional interconnection between kinds of activity among the small farmers of southern Ireland would be incomplete. For the theoretical problem that is involved in a discussion of the sociology of subsistence in rural Ireland is of far wider importance than any description of things Irish. [114]

The nature of a social system and the nature of cause and

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121 effect in human affairs in social life becomes with each decade more and more important a problem for the increasingly self-conscious nations of the age. In its practical applications, the problem pushes beyond the confines of the sociological and anthropological inquiries which fostered it originally. Legislative changes, attempts at reform and planning, essays in propaganda and persuasion, campaigns for solidarity or defense, forecasts of development, all come to depend for practical success more and more upon a knowledge of how the complex social organism of a modern nation or culture will react. The Irish situation is thus merely an instance. It is an essay in the interconnectedness of the conditions of human social life. Whether one wishes to destroy, change, or preserve, the fact of interconnection exists and must be reckoned with.

As an academic problem, the form of the connection between the parts of the social organism, better stated as the effect of some events of human social life upon others, has been largely the concern of a few theoretical sociologists and a single school of anthropologists. The sociologists have dealt principally with its theoretical aspects, formulating abstract forecasts of the necessary connections. The anthropologists, of the "functional" school, have had to face the problem as a concrete requirement of description. Their tribes and native cultures have presented them with whole situations in which each part was foreign to them and in which each part had no other reference than the situation itself could give. Alert readers will detect the influence of both approaches in this book. Yet the emphasis throughout will be placed on the concrete necessities of description. The behavior of the Irish country people and the indices which report it are specific matters of observation and record. The internal connections they may have are equally specific matters.

Yet the authors do not wish to be thought in any sense experts on the Irish scene or to be motivated primarily by a desire to explain things Irish to the world. 121 Much as they desire to understand and give proper value to the nation which so kindly and courteously received them, they do not feel themselves qualified in any way to characterize or evaluate the culture, tradition, or social life of the communities in which they made their study. Therefore, they present the results of their examination of the data they gathered in Ireland in answer to quite another set of problems. If they by chance and inadvertence happen to bring the light of a fresh foreign point of view into matters which are of much more than theoretical interest to Irishmen in the Free State, or to students of Ireland and her problems, they will count themselves lucky indeed.

The purpose of the study is not so much to characterize the communities described as it is to examine the behaviors of the persons living in them. The data upon which the argument of the book rests are the data of events, biographies, and situations in which the members of the communities took their parts. But the conclusions which advance the argument and which the authors draw from these data are not primarily intended as characterizations of the behavior involved. They are steps in the elaboration of a view of human behavior in social life to which they impel the authors and toward which it is hoped the reader will likewise find himself drawn.

That this should be the case involves the earliest history 114 of the present research. It was begun in 1932 as an in- 121 tensive field research in social anthropology as it had grown up in the ethnological work of Malinowski and through the theoretical formulations of Radcliffe-Brown. Neither of the authors of this book had done firsthand work among primitive peoples. They had served apprenticeships in field work under Professor William Lloyd Warner, then of Harvard University, in a study of a contemporary New England city

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and were thoroughly devoted to social anthropology as a technique for study of modern civilized communities.

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Thus the conclusions of the book are in the nature of answers to the questions originally responsible for setting about the research. Experience in Yankee City in New England had led the authors to the point of view which is the central hypothesis of functional anthropology. The more they worked, the more it grew certain for them that to a certain approximation it is useful to regard society as an integrated system of mutually interrelated and functionally interdependent parts. A study in Ireland, then, should be a study to test this hypothesis. In a setting far different but still in some ways closely comparable to the American scene which the authors already knew, they would try to give it a greater precision.

The pooled experience of the authors, in so far as they themselves can judge it, did not involve a rigid insistence upon or acceptance of any one anthropological view within the broad confines of the functionalist approach. It also carried them far beyond the confines of anthropology, as the reader will soon learn.

For the most part the Irish communities the authors undertook to examine and in which they had a brief but enjoyable participation were, in a sense, laboratories and workshops. They exemplified concretely the problems contained in the concepts, social structure, social system, and organization of human behavior.

That is why, then, even though the authors found themselves becoming, as far as their halting steps would take them, economists, political scientists, folklorists, students of religion and whatnot, they found the general role of ethnologist and social anthropologist most congenial to their task. Even where their data, in part at least, necessitate the formulation of a general sociology, they are still confirmed in what is essentially the ethnologist's point of view. They seek to describe a culture, taking that word in its anthropological sense. And they seek to do so as observers of the minutiae of social life.

Naturally the culture so to be described need not have been that of Ireland, as far as the larger purpose of the study was concerned. But Ireland has many advantages for just such an inquiry, and in the authors' view, well warranted choice as a scene of operations.

In the first place, Ireland presented a distinctive and characteristic variant of western European civilization and a long, relatively unbroken tradition dating back to pre-Christian and pre-Roman times. Yet this distinctiveness is comprised within what is, after all, a small compass. Ireland is by no means a large country, and, however its people may be conscious of their own internal differences, it is very homogeneous indeed. Any acquaintance with Ireland at all soon establishes the fact that, far from being on the retreat, the distinctive culture of Ireland is increasing in strength and autonomy, however much it has learned to assimilate the technological and other developments of the modern age.

Nor is the anthropologist abashed by the arguments of those who deny any autonomy to national and ethnic cultures because, after all, they are part and parcel of a larger whole — that of the general occidental civilization. For all classifications of this sort are relative, and need be accepted only for the purpose one wishes to put them to. Just as one can speak of Iroquois culture in contradistinction to Algonquin, though both are eastern woodland American Indians, so one can speak of English and Irish cultures or national groups. The two are distinguishable by differences of behavior and outlook and products of quite different ways of life, even though in many aspects they are comparable and similarly derived historically.

Thus in many cases the data will be distinctly Irish and the conclusions may seem to some readers applicable only to Irish conditions. This will be the case particularly where the data meet that reader's disapproval, we are afraid, if he is not an Irishman, or win his enthusiastic support, if he is. Against that sort of interpretation the authors must protect themselves as best they can. Only the development of further studies of similar nature and the growth of understanding of what mechanisms are universal and what are particular in social structure will resolve such controversy.

But the reader must remember that, even though the book draws upon details of the most minute and personal kind, taken out of the most distinctively Irish situations, the use they are put to is not characterizing or descriptive. The authors use the observation of personal relations, individual and group activities, expressions of sentiment and emotion of every kind, as expository matter in the presentation of the general process by which individuals are united, groups are formed, joined, opposed, and in which the cohesion of the community is created, maintained, defended, and lost.

What is here attempted, then, is a work of inductive social analysis. Perhaps the adjectives "analytic" and "interpretive" describe the purpose of the authors best. Detail, local color, dramatic incident, and specific quotation are offered not for themselves, or for the picture they make, but in answer to questions of how and why human beings come to act upon one another in certain ways, to govern their lives in particular fashions, and to accept sentiments and beliefs of the kinds recorded.

The book works toward the problem of the individual as well, particularly so because its data are individual acts, events, expressions of opinion and attitude. For the problem of how science is to deal with individual life and individual behavior is inseparable, as we shall see, from the inquiry here pursued. The authors certainly do not intend any study of Irish psychology *per se*, or attempt psychoanalysis

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of the Irish mind. Rather they work toward the view of the problem of the individual in society which their inductions force upon them. In fact, it is another reason for the authors' adherence to anthropological method and anthropological outlook that the study confirms them in an original view. That is that there is no sociology which is not equally a psychology, nor any psychology which is not equally a sociology. In one aspect, the book will be a treatise on the necessity for abandoning distinctions between the fields and an attempt to force the realization of this identity.

If there is any single conclusion to which the authors wish to point with greatest emphasis, it is this: that social life and society must be understood not in terms of any hypostatization either of *the individual* or of *society*. There is no such thing as *the* society or *the* individual. Both concepts are conclusions of relative and limited validity. There are only persons behaving in various ways.

But this view is not the purpose of the book. It is the conclusion to which the authors were led in pursuance of their purpose. Nevertheless, it bears statement here at the outset, because it is so simple. Yet the whole course of the book is necessary to establish it and to show it to be the base upon which objective and inductive social science, still only a distant goal, can be built.

The final purpose of the book is to reach this base. It is an attempt to clear away in a concrete case the manifold complexities of civilized society to a point where an inductive science founded upon simple and measurable data can be begun. Its final purpose is also its conclusion: an objective social science can only be made by developing an impersonal technique for reducing to order the only social data we have which are comparable to those from which the natural sciences developed. These are the data of the interaction of human beings, to be found in what they do to one another.

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## CHAPTER I

# *The Small Farmers*

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241 463 CENSUSES have laid bare the existence of two widely different types of agricultural activity in the Irish countryside. There are two widely different groups of persons whom we can tentatively designate as large and small farmers. Indeed, the statistics, if used correctly, give factual base to the divisions the Irish reckon in the countryside themselves. They remind one continually that the large and small farmers are different beings and belong to ways of life which are quite opposed.

In general, the differences are such as to present two groups of persons defined by two different ways of adapting themselves to nature and carrying on the business of agricultural production. Large farmers differ from small farmers in their techniques, in their products, in the use of the soil and the land. They differ in the way in which numbers derive support from their farms. They differ significantly in the organization of labor upon those farms and presumably in consequence in their relations with other elements of the community. Family labor characterizes the small man, hired labor the big fellow.

No one, of course, expects this to be an exact correspondence in which one gets perfect correlations in each instance between the size of the acreage and other factors. A typical small farm economy might well exist on a farm very large in area, and often does so in mountainous areas, where

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241 463 much of the land is useless. Again, a farm small in area might be exclusively devoted to the sort of economy which is usually found on very large farms. In any single case, statistical generalities do not hold, of course. But in the large kind of correlation which a count of varying factors affords, bulk correspondences turn up with complete regularity.

241 463 162 The course by which this conclusion is reached takes one through the devious labyrinth of Free State Government statistical abstracts. In 1926, the last census year before the authors' field work was undertaken, the numbers living in country districts, "outside villages and towns with 200 or more population," made up 63 per cent of the Free State's population of almost 3,000,000. They were 1,815,496. Of the 1,307,662 classed as "occupied persons 12 years of age and over" for the whole Free State, 672,129, or 51 per cent, were engaged in agriculture. Any attempt, then, to understand the human setting of Irish farming involves an inquiry into the forces motivating the lives of well over half the country's people.

241 433 In 1926 this agricultural population produced a total output valued at £64,757,000. Industry in Ireland produced goods to the value of only a little over half that figure (£34,000,000 net output).

231 433 In the agricultural output of that year, the proportions of the various products indicate the character of the agriculture. Foodstuffs, with livestock products among them, made up the bulk of the output. Milk products accounted for £13,600,000; cattle, exported alive or slaughtered within the country, accounted for another £13,800,000. Pigs and eggs made up £9,800,000 and £6,690,000 respectively. Other livestock such as poultry, sheep, and horses accounted for the rest, in that order of importance. Wool and sundry items such as honey brought in a mere £700,000. All of these, the total output of livestock, reached a value of

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£50,555,000. The figures illustrate the preponderant importance of livestock and particularly cattle and pigs in Irish economy. 433

The remaining £14,000,000 was made up of crops and turf, the latter alone accounting for £5,938,000. Among the crops, potatoes came first, with a value for the year of £3,786,000. Oats, cabbage, and barley accounted for about £900,000 each; and there were a few other items of smaller values, the largest of which was fruit at £466,000. 241 433

These figures of the agricultural products rather underestimate the amount of tillage products raised. In the words of the Census Report, they "do not include any part of the produce which was used for further agricultural production in the Saorstat whether that part was used on the farm on which produced or sold by one farmer to another — e.g. milk fed to calves, potatoes fed to pigs, hay, turnips, mangels fed to cattle, corn used for seed, horses used for farm work."[1]

Within this generality of the monetary value of the goods produced, one can begin to take account of the wide difference of the sizes of the holdings engaged in this agricultural production. A glance at the figure illustrating this kind of economy by relative size of acreage (Fig. 1) will bring the matter out. 231 241 311 471

The agricultural community carried on this production upon farms of very widely different character. Holdings range in size from one acre or less to 500 or more. Those under 30 acres comprise 23 per cent of the total acreage of agricultural land in the Saorstat, those of 30–50, 17 per cent; those of 50–100, 24 per cent; and those of 100–200, 19 per cent. Farms larger than 200 acres cover only 16 per cent of agricultural land.

In general, the smaller ones practice the more generalized economy, their production being markedly different from

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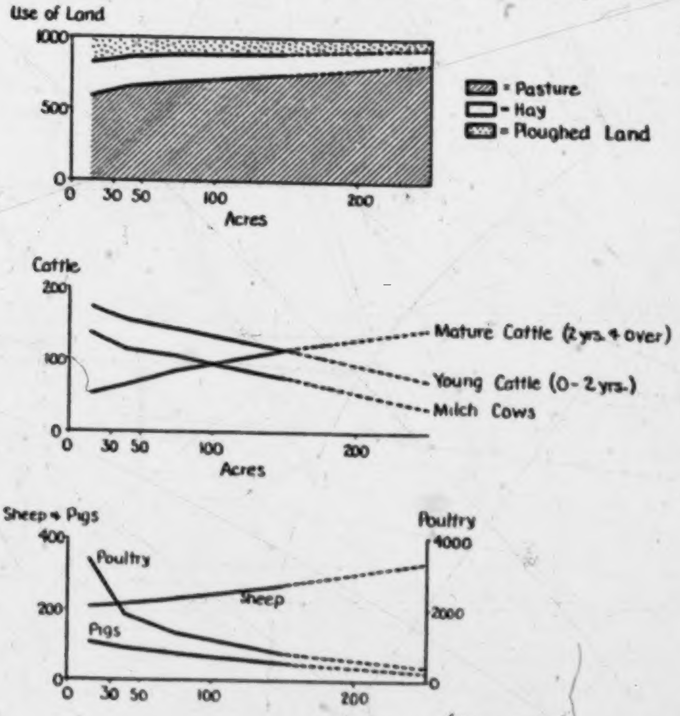
[1] *Agricultural Output of Saorstat Eireann, 1926–27* (Department of Industry and Commerce, Statistics Branch, Dublin Stationery Office, 1930), p. 5.

231 that of the large farms. The latter, especially in the mid-
241 land counties, where they are most numerous, raise little
311 more than beef cattle. Their owners are the graziers or
471

FIGURE 1

PRODUCTION ON LARGE AND SMALL HOLDINGS, ALL IRELAND, 1926 CENSUS



(date 1926)

"ranchers" of current political controversy in Ireland. The different economies express themselves in the census as follows:

The numbers of acres ploughed and the numbers under hay per 1000 acres of agricultural land decrease continuously as the size of the holdings increases; the numbers of milch cows, of

young cattle, of pigs, and of poultry also decrease but the number 231
of dry older cattle and of sheep per 1000 acres increase as 241
the size of the holdings increases. The contrast between the
smallest and the largest holdings is exceedingly great and is 311
very great even between the second smallest and second largest. 471
Contrasting the holdings 30–50 acres with holdings 100–200 acres the table shows that on equal areas of agricultural land, the smaller holdings have 32% more ploughed land, 29% more hay, 54% more milch cows, 53% more cattle under one year, 16% more cattle one to two years old, and 9% more cattle of all kinds, 80% more pigs, and 139% more poultry than the holdings 100–200 acres, but the latter have 24% more sheep, 52% more dry cattle, 2 to 3 years old, and 209% more dry cattle 3 years old or over than do holdings 30–50 acres.[2]

In County Clare, the area of our investigation, agriculture 231
presents much the same character and the same difference 241
between small and large farmers as does the whole
of Ireland. Clare occupies a middle place among the counties; 311
neither the large nor the small farm predominates. Almost always the small farmer has a garden in potatoes and cabbage with a few oats and turnips and perhaps some rye. The rest of his land will be under several meadows in hay, grazed during the winter months and in fields (pasture land) grazed during both summer and winter, if sheltered. In rough mountain areas sheep are common, particularly in the Broadford and Tubber districts. In addition to cattle, the smaller holder generally has a large flock of ducks, geese, and hens, and he keeps several pigs. These are also fed upon the oats, potatoes, cabbage, and milk left over after the other livestock have been fed. Specialization in poultry raising is still rare, though poultry stations are being established here and there under the supervision of agents of the Department of Agriculture. Certain areas, of course, show minor specializations, such as Miltown Malbay, a seacoast region known for its cabbage, and Newquay, known

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[2] *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926, Report and Tables* (Department of Industry and Commerce, Statistics Branch, Dublin Stationery Office, 1930), p. xxi.

231

241 for its oats; but an entire farm is seldom, if ever, devoted
311 to one crop.

With few exceptions, then, the chief occupation of the
234 small farmers is the production of cattle. Milk is sold direct to the creameries in areas where they have been established. It comes to occupy the largest part of farm production in such counties as Limerick, but in Clare the creameries are still being introduced. Where there is no creamery, the milk is used for food in the form of butter, or sold as fresh and salted butter in near-by centers, or it is fed to livestock. For the small farmer may keep several dry cattle and calves in addition to his milch cows.

234 The ideal is to have as much grass as possible, even with
246 those small farmers who do most tillage. A farm is described among them as "the place of [so many] cows." For this reason, hay is the principal crop of the year; in all cases, it is an important fodder. Often it is the only winter fodder. The dependence upon hay is well exemplified for all Ireland in the fluctuation of the annual milk yield. It is at its highest through May, June, and July during the period of fresh grasses, and sinks to a low in January. The range is from 3 per cent of annual production in January to 13 per cent in June.

233 The large farmer, typically the so-called "rancher," a grazier of over 200 acres, presents a quite different picture, though he, too, is a great cattle producer. Ordinarily, he
244 cultivates nothing but a "kitchen garden" for household use. He utilizes his land to its full capacity for grazing cattle. Ranching of this sort is typical of the midland counties such as Meath and the other counties of Leinster, but it is found also in certain areas of Clare. The first of these is the low-lying alluvial plain around the mouth of the river Fergus, very rich in grass-bearing soil. A concentration of large holdings is found there. The actual acreage of the holdings gives little information because of the difficulty of comparing

them with holdings in other parts of the country when in 233
the latter much mountain land is included. The valuations, however, are exceedingly high, the full valuation of the Ennis district (which includes the Fergus plain) being £67,000 for 112,000 acres compared with the neighboring Killadysert district at £25,000 for 62,000 acres.

The second of the "ranching districts" or areas of large holdings practicing this type of agriculture is the region in the northern part of the county called "the hills of Burren" (the Ballyvaughan area). This is a limestone country which provides rich winterage for cattle. Consequently land there is very valuable to the rancher who has to winter his store cattle. Grass grows there fairly richly throughout the winter among the limestone crags, and the cattle are allowed to forage for themselves. In several cases, farmers own large holdings of 200 acres and over in each of the two areas. They drive their cattle down from the winterages in April and back again in November.

Certain other farms of large size, and especially in rich 233
alluvial areas such as Clarecastle and Newmarket-on-Fergus, 243
make extensive use of tillage, primarily of oats. In other areas such as Tubber, Broadford, and Feakle, mountain land is given over to sheep.

County Clare, in fact, shows a fourfold division into sec- 311
tions differentiated partly geographically, partly by the dif- 471
ferent utilization of the soil. "West Clare" includes all the peninsula west and south of the ridge culminating in Mount Callan and cutting off the Fergus drainage from the Atlantic. Here the holdings are predominantly small, and the more generalized economy is common. "North Clare" covers the country of the "hills of Burren." "East Clare" contains both the rough country of Feakle and Broadford, where small mountain holdings approximate the conditions of West Clare, and the Tulla and Quin districts, which with "Mid-Clare" and "South Clare" cover the alluvial plain of the

311
471 Fergus River, where there are many "ranches" and, in parts, extensive oats tillage.

162 Statistics are available only for the whole of Clare; they
471 give a comprehensive view of the county's farming.[3] All but 21.6 per cent of the population of 95,064 lived in country districts. The area they worked, 787,768 acres, was divided into 15,857 holdings, of which 1,179 did not exceed one acre, 909 contained from 1 to 5, 841 from 5 to 10, 1,108 from 10 to 15, and 3,767 from 15 to 30, 3,617 from 30 to 50, and 3,135 from 50 to 100. The farms larger than 100 acres numbered 997 in the 100 to 200 acre group, and 394 exceeding 200 acres. Clare thus fell into a category among counties in which medium-sized holdings were normal, but both the small farms and the large rancher type were present.

241 We have no separate statistics for Clare's produce, but we
311 know that in June 1932 the land was being utilized in the following manner. There were only 465 acres of wheat, 335 acres of barley, 207 acres of rye, 1 acre of beans and peas, 147 acres of fruit, 3 acres of sugar beet, 57 acres of experimental ensilage for cattle, and 151 acres of miscellaneous root and green crops. The figures[4] show the small part played by vegetable products other than cabbage and potatoes used for human food. Bread, the great staple, was of course, made from imported flour or wheat. Potatoes and oats, however, made a better showing, with 13,518 and 8,199 acres respectively devoted to them. Turnips and mangels accounted for 3,897 and 306 acres respectively; like potatoes and oats, they are used for both human and animal consumption. This was the extent of ploughed land.

The great bulk of the area was, of course, in hay and pasture. There were 2,791 acres of first-year hay, 131,429 acres of other hay, and 394,791 acres of pasture.

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[3] Figures taken from Annual Report, County Clare Council Agricultural Committee, June 1932.

[4] Report of the County Clare Agricultural Committee, 1932.

These figures coupled with those giving the number of livestock in the county at that date illustrate the greatly preponderant interest in animal products, particularly cattle, pigs, and eggs. The figures for cattle show that Clare is not primarily a ranching county, but that there is, nevertheless, a respectable number of dry, store cattle. In June 1932 there were 786 bulls, 60,149 milch cows, and 1,696 heifers in calf; and besides such breeding stock there were 5,780 dry three-year-olds or over, 23,266 two-year-olds, and 47,918 yearlings. There were also 58,708 under a year old. 231

Returning again to the conditions for all Ireland, it will be seen in how many respects Clare duplicates the various types of agriculture for all Ireland. The Report of Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926, describes statistically the difference in farming between large and small holders over the whole country. It finds that for the whole country

> milch cows were densest (in 1926) in the Southwestern Counties [Clare is one], a region of medium sized holdings, next densest in the Northwest with its numerous small holdings and least dense in the Central Eastern Counties. . . . the 13 latter counties included 11 of the counties of the largest percentage of land under holdings of 200 acres or over, 11 of the 13 densest in dry cattle 3 years or over, 10 of the 13 densest in dry cattle 2 to 3 years old and 10 of the 13 densest in sheep. . . . the counties densest in the older dry cattle coincide closely with these densest in large holdings.[5]

Of tillage the Report states that 241

> small farmers adopt a crop rotation very different to that of the large farmers, putting much more of their ploughed land under roots and green crops and much less under corn. . . . Farmers with 1 to 30 acres devote to potatoes nearly three times as large a proportion of their ploughed land as farmers with over 200 acres, and the latter put twice as much . . . under barley and under turnips as the small farmer and a much larger proportion under oats and mangels.

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[5] *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926*, p. xxiii.

241 As regards the smaller crops "the small farmers show a distinct preference for cabbage and rye. . . ."[6]

"Poultry are influenced more than any other class of livestock by size of the farm. . . . They are nine times as dense on holdings of 1 to 30 acres as on holdings over 200 acres. . . . counties densest in poultry coincide with the counties densest in small holdings. . . ."[7]

231 Pigs, however, "seem to be influenced more by densities of tillage and of milch cows than by size of holdings. . . . The Southwestern Counties [Clare is one of them] have dense pig herds and the largest bacon factories."[8]

241
407 The difference reflects itself likewise in the distribution of agricultural implements and machinery over the two types of farm. The figures, dating from 1917,[9] are two decades old, but, in spite of the subsequent increase in mechanization, Irish farming is little given to abundant use of machines, and proportions hold much as at that time. In the words of the Report in discussing the tables it presents, giving numbers of farm implements and machines, enumerating ploughs, harrows, turnip and mangel sowers, corn binders, mowers and reapers, horse-drawn hayforks, and potato diggers per thousand acres of ploughed land or specific crop, on various sized holdings:

> The figures rise regularly to a maximum (in the column representing holdings of 50 to 100 acres) and then fall away regularly. Small figures for the small holdings presumably mean that the less efficient implements are used, (the spade in place of the plough, the scythe instead of the mower), not that coöperation . . . exists to any appreciable extent.[10]

That large holders do not proportionately increase their use of such implements and machines after the 50 to 100 acre maximum is reached lies in the fact that "the small

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[6] *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926*, pp. xxvi, xxvii.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

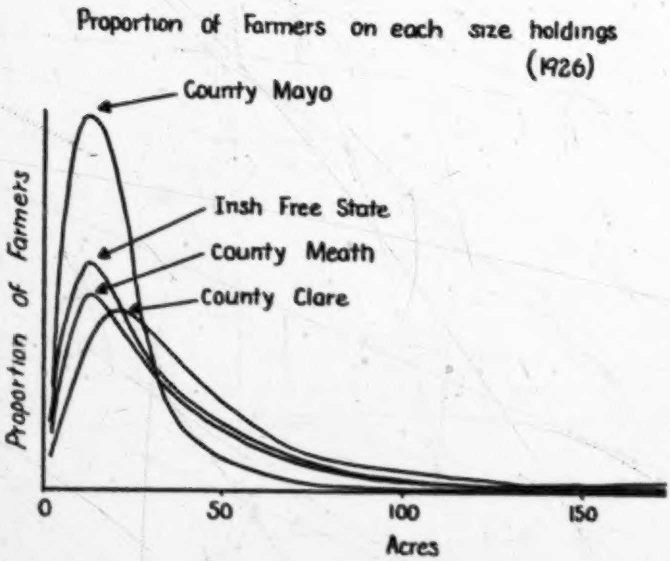
[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, p. lv.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. lvi. We shall see that this statement is not entirely accurate, though there is no large-scale village coöperation as in Balkan and Slavic lands.

figures for the largest size holdings show that the machines 241
on the smaller farms were more than sufficient for the type 407
of agriculture carried on." [11] For instance, on farms of 30–50 acres there were 137 ploughs to every 1,000 acres of ploughed land. But much less than half that number were sufficient for the same acreage of ploughed land on holdings over 500 acres. The difference reflects itself statistically not only in the goods produced but in the tools and techniques used.

FIGURE 2



[162]

More important, however, for an understanding of the 241
social behavior involved, is a further great difference to be 162
seen in the numbers of persons living upon the various sized farms. The numbers of persons supporting themselves upon the small holdings are much greater than those upon

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[11] *Ibid.*

241 large farms. Figure 2 shows this graphically. County Mayo
162 there represents one extreme of "congestion" and County Meath another. County Clare is of such mixed character that its position looks anomalous. The figure deals only with farmers and does not, as we shall see, represent the real situation, for it leaves out of account those who work the farm along with its farmer owner.

In 1926 there were 268,930 farmers in the Irish Free State, the largest block of which supported themselves upon farms of from 15 to 30 acres, that is, upon small farms. Their number was 75,225. Farmers numbering 51,196 worked farms of from 30 to 50 acres, and 41,052 farms of from 50 to 100. On smaller farms than the 15–30 acre norm there were 11,608 farmers on 1–5 acre farms and 29,180 on 5–10 acre ones. On larger farms than 100 acres there were, however, only 22,660 farmers.

The counties, of course, differed widely in this respect, but in general the counties where large holdings were numerous supported a much smaller farm population than those where smaller holdings prevailed. Thus Meath, a ranching county of 577,000 acres, supported only 4,403 farmers, while Clare, with an area only about one and one-half times as large, supported 10,320 farmers in a much less rich and more mountainous soil. Indeed, it is one of the anomalies most regretted by the present De Valera government (among others) that Ireland's population is concentrated in the poorer and more mountainous parts of the island. Clare, of course, does not present such an extreme case as the so-called "congested" counties of Mayo, Kerry, and Galway.

In County Clare small farmers are, of course, definitely in the majority. The number of true "ranchers" is few. In 1926 the proportions were 3,020 male farmers on farms 15–30 acres (the largest group), 2,280 on farms 30–50, 2,033 on farms 50–100. In the groups smaller than 15 acres

there were 828 farmers on farms 10–15 acres and 486 on 241
farms 5–10. Farmers living on farms under 5 acres are few 162
(180). Those on farms up to 200 number 597 and above 200, 218.

When the total population engaged in agriculture is 241
considered rather than merely the farmers (owners), the 162
greater numbers living upon small holdings become even 464
more apparent. A full report based upon the 1926 census had not yet appeared, but a report was published upon the 1912 figures at the time the 1926 figures were released.[12] From that report it is at once apparent that the difference between large and small farms extends to the population engaged upon them and the type of labor employed. This new difference demonstrates a marked contrast, still apparent today, in the way in which large and small farmers carry on their economies.

In 1926 the number of farmers and relatives assisting them in the Saorstat was 533,025 and those otherwise engaged in agriculture numbered only 139,104. The figures of the Report, based upon the 1912 census, show higher numbers, but the proportion of hired to family labor had not materially changed. From the tables of the Report, it is established that "only 26% were wage earners," that is, were not farmers and their relatives, working without periodic monetary recompense on an employee basis. Relating this to size of farms, it was discovered that not only were "5 times as many persons working on farms of 15 to 30 acres and 3½ times as many on farms of 30–50 acres as on farms of over 200 acres," [13] but that also "family labor accounted for 89% of the total on farms 1–15 acres but only 24% for farms of over 200 acres. . . . Taking all holdings into account, 74% of the persons working on farms consisted of farmers, their wives, sons, daughters, and other relatives," and only "15% were permanent wage earners and 11%

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[12] *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926*, p. liv.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. li.

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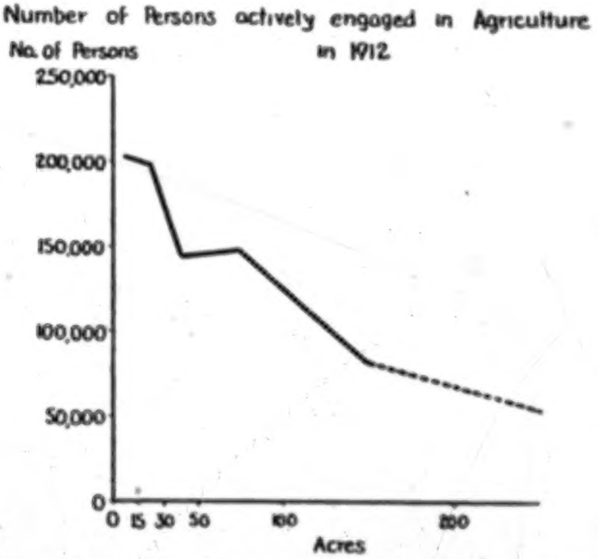
162
464

were temporary employees."[14] In other words, the small farm is generally worked by the family of the owner, while the large farm, particularly the ranch, is worked by agricultural laborers employed by the owner.

FIGURE 3



These are the actual numbers arranged proportionately, in true descending scale, with the size of the holding. Figures for all Ireland. The figures are quite comparable with those of County Clare for 1932, where in records published in the local newspaper by the County Council Committee on Agriculture it was stated that on farms of 15–30 acres, the median-sized holding, on which the plurality of the farm population live, there were 10 acres to each person. But on farms of 200 acres and over, more than 35 acres were required for each person the farms supported.

In Figure 3 the tables are reduced to a graphic representation which shows well how much truth there is in the Irish assertion that "the smaller the farm, the larger the number of people it supports." One has only to look at it to unde[illegible]nd much of Irish political currents.

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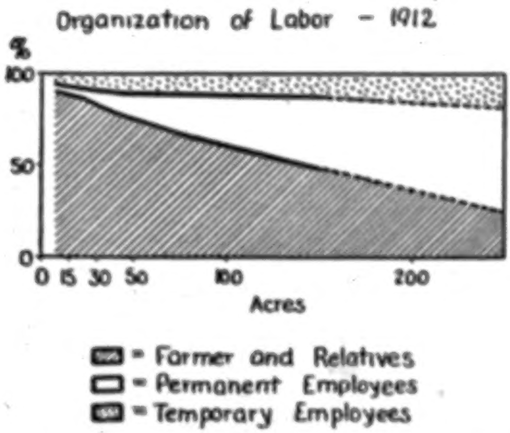
[14] *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926*, p. lii.

In Clare the same situation is present. Most, if not nearly 241
all, of the work of the small farmers is done by the family 162
relatives. And for the whole county in 1926, 83.5% of all 464
males engaged in agricultural pursuits were farmers or farmers' relatives (and 99 per cent of the rather small number of females). Only in the two districts which we have already mentioned as regions of large holdings and ranches, Ballyvaughan and Ennis, did the percentage fall appreciably below that figure (to 73 per cent and 75 per cent).

FIGURE 4



The chart again shows a constant progression. The larger the farm, the less the dependence upon other members of the family and the more often hired hands are present. The chart begins on the left with a figure of 89 per cent of farmers of 1–15 acres depending upon family help and ends at the right with 24 per cent of farmers of over 200 acres depending upon such help.

Figure 4 presents this difference in organization of labor for all Ireland in 1912.

Small farmers and large farmers make a different disposal 438
of their products. At the same time there is an exchange of products between the two groups.

These facts are to be got from the many statistics reflect-

438 ing the internal trade carried on within Ireland. There we can follow the movement of the goods of production through the population.[15] The writers deal with the statistics reflecting conditions before the advent of the De Valera government (1932) because they are the more complete and because changes introduced since then by the Fianna Fáil domestic and foreign policies had not yet (1935) had time to become the settled habit of the people at the time of the study.

438 439 In 1930 the majority of the agricultural produce of the Free State was exported. Estimated by the value of the products, the destination of the produce was as follows: £25,000,000 worth, or about 35 per cent, was consumed by the agricultural community; about 17 per cent was consumed by others in the Free State; and about 45 per cent was exported. The greater consumption of agricultural [146] products in the country does not, of course, imply a better diet necessarily, since we are disregarding for the moment the large imports of foodstuffs made by both town and country districts, and since much of the country consumption went into further animal production.

439 Export, of course, was designed for the English market. In terms of specific products, 81 per cent of the cattle and sheep production was exported, 59 per cent of the pigs, 37 per cent of the output of butter and cream.[16]

In other words, only a small part of the output of more expensive cattle and sheep was consumed at home, but, at the other extreme, the cheaper stuffs stayed on the farm. The great bulk of the potatoes and turf produced, and just about one-half of the output of such dairy produce as whole milk, butter, eggs, and poultry, were consumed by the producers. Tillage crops tell the same story; they remained at home. The chief and overwhelmingly important exports were live animals and live animal products, such as butter.

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[15] *Agricultural Output of Saorstát Eireann, 1926–27*, pp. 6, 10.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

ports were live animals and live animal products, such as butter. 439

Of these exports, of course, cattle were the most valuable 439
item and represented the great export staple. They were 234
likewise the crop to which most other produce could be 433
devoted when not used as human food. That this kind of conversion of other stuffs into cattle could take place is to be seen in the figures for milk. Though the Free State produced in the year in question a total of 589,000,000 gallons of milk, including both whole milk and butter, comparing favorably with such an output as Switzerland's yearly 528,000,000 in 1923, only 43 per cent of it was exported, while in Switzerland the export was 67 per cent of the Swiss total.

The figures for exports introduce a new factor of differ- 241
ence between the holdings of large and small size and their
populations. Small holdings do not share equally with large 439
holdings either in the consumption of agricultural produce 511
or in its export. In both consumption and export commerce in the Free State, small holders and large holders play distinct roles.

Taking the first of these considerations, the figures for 241
consumption reveal the difference. The estimated human
consumption of whole milk (as milk) was some 90,000,000 511
gallons, according to the statistical record of the year 1928,[17] 262
of which 70,000,000 gallons were consumed by agriculturalists and 20,000,000 by the remainder of the population. It was estimated that on the farms 38 gallons were consumed yearly per person. But that is the figure for all farms. There is a considerable difference here between types of farms.

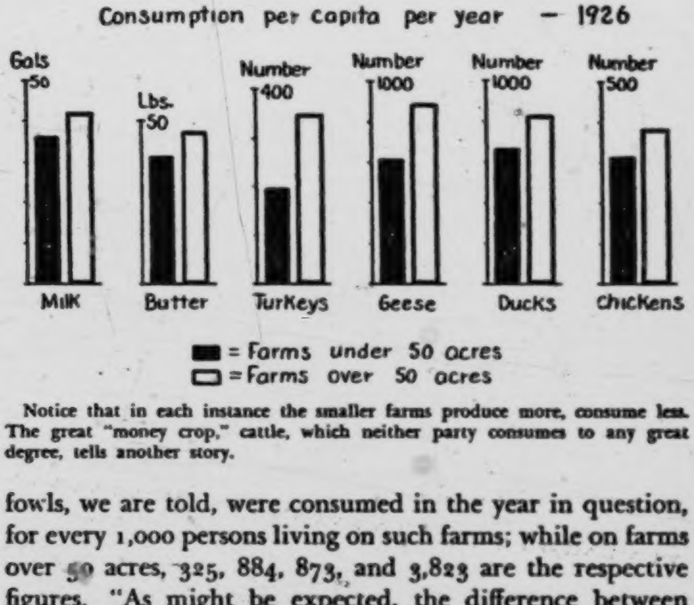
Thus, in this case, on farms less than 50 acres only 36 gallons per person per annum were consumed, it was estimated, while on farms of over 50 acres, the consumption was 42 gallons. In Munster, the chief milk-producing province,

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

241 the difference is even more marked, the indices being 35
262 gallons and 44 gallons.

511 Similar differences hold as well for the consumption of milk as butter, a commodity of which the Irish consume more than any other civilized country. The difference between farms under and farms over 50 acres can be expressed in the spread between 40 and 48 pounds annual consumption per person. For poultry and for eggs, great farm diet staples, similar differences hold. On farms less than 50 acres, 197 turkeys, 601 geese, 672 ducks, and 3,177 ordinary fowls, we are told, were consumed in the year in question, for every 1,000 persons living on such farms; while on farms over 50 acres, 325, 884, 873, and 3,823 are the respective figures. "As might be expected, the difference between average consumption on large and small farms of valuable fowl like turkeys is very marked." [18]

FIGURE 5



Notice that in each instance the smaller farms produce more, consume less. The great "money crop," cattle, which neither party consumes to any great degree, tells another story.

In the case of eggs, of those consumed per 100 persons on

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[18] *Agricultural Output . . . , 1926–27*, p. 37.

farms in January 1929,[19] the figures are for small farms 530, 241
for large farms 582. All of these figures reflect a difference 262
of diet the more marked because the small farmer popula- 511
tion is so much the larger.

In Figure 5 this difference of consumption is represented in the form of blocks depicting the contrast between small and large farms. One could conclude quite rightly from this kind of picture that in each instance the smaller farms produce more per person at work and eat less. In terms of production, then, the small farm is the more productive. In terms of monetary return, it is a different story. Cattle, of course, are the Irish "money crop," much like cotton and wheat in parts of the United States.

Observation makes it clear that this difference of diet is more marked than even these figures reveal. But figures for other items of diet appearing in agricultural production are not available in correlation with farm size. The home consumption of meats from the farm animals, except pigs, is negligible among both kinds of farmers. Nevertheless, we can gain a substantial insight into the difference in meat-eating between large and small farmers when we realize that, out of the comparatively small total of 123,000 cattle and 504,000 sheep and lambs slaughtered for consumption in the Free State in 1926, a per capita count of average consumption by dressed weight gives such a predominantly large-holding county as Westmeath a weight of 34 pounds per consuming person, counties with large urban population rising higher, while the same count gives such a predominantly small-holding county as Mayo a weight of only 13 pounds. Clare, where small and medium farmers are predominant in the population, shows a similar small consumption of meat, a similar count giving only 19 pounds per person.[20]

In fact, the large farm population shares a meat diet with

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 48 and 49.

241 the cities and larger towns that is unknown on the small
262 farms. The fact is evident when it is observed that Dublin,
511 Cork, and Waterford counties (each dominated numerically
by the city of the name) count an average meat consumption taken on the same scale of 69, 40, and 37 pounds per capita respectively.

The difference between the two kinds of farm shows itself
231 again strongly in the export trade from Ireland and in the
241 roles of each in the transfer of farm produce to its ultimate
439 market. The two kinds of farm make a totally different disposal of their produce, particularly their cattle. In this fact we see for the first time that in some regard they have a complementary role. Between them Irish cattle trade is carried on.

231 The huge internal Irish cattle trade is thus significant.
438 It reveals itself in the figures as a movement from small farm to large, an interchange between the two kinds of farmers which shows once again their distinctness. The trade is both geographical and social, in the sense that it flows between two sections of Ireland and between her two great agricultural classes.

To get at the facts which show the case demands looking at the statistics of cattle in the Free State. These illustrate clearly how far the internal cattle trade shows up the great difference between the two types of farm. It is necessary to take into consideration the age groups of cattle in the various areas and in the possession of holders of various acreages in those areas. This roundabout course of determining the outlines of internal cattle trade is necessary because there are no barriers or *octrois* at which count might be made as the cattle move from dealer to dealer across the country.

The seven southwestern counties are the areas predomi-
231 nant in milch cattle production; they are the areas of the calf-producing cow. Clare is one of these. A chart of birth dates of cattle in various parts of Ireland demonstrates that

the majority of the calves in the seven southwestern counties 231 are born in March. A large majority of the calves in the eastern part of the country, the thirteen central eastern counties, are born in April, and a majority of the calves born in the northern tier of counties in the area of the Free State, a region we shall call the six northwestern counties, are born in May. This sort of progression of the birth dates of cattle through the spring months is, of course, related to climatic conditions.

Because such a progression exists, an annual count of cattle taken on the basis of age, undertaken each June first, the beginning of the butter export season, when cows are in full milk, would lead to the strong presumption that cattle recorded as under one year of age at that date would, in fact, nearly all be under three months of age; yearlings so recorded would, in fact, be under fifteen months, and so on. When an actual count was taken in 1926 of the cattle in Ireland, this presumption was borne out. On it is based the following picture of internal cattle trade to be derived from the Report on Agricultural Statistics already quoted.

Following the reasoning of the Report we learn that since 231 438 "exceedingly few calves are either exported from or slaughtered in the Saorstat and . . . on June 1st, 1926, there were 78 cattle under one year per 100 milch cows, it follows that any district or group of holdings . . . with much less than 78 must have exported them."[21] Then, transferring this device to the annual count of cattle by age, it becomes readily apparent that all of the central eastern counties who count many over 78 cattle under one year of age per 100 milch cows on June first 1926 must have been importing, while the northern counties, Donegal and Leitrim, and the southern counties, Cork, Kerry, and Limerick, with figures much less than 78, must have been exporting. The last three

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[21] *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926*, p. xvi.

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438
counties named are the principal members of the group of seven southwestern dairying counties.

A great cattle trade thus takes place between the southwestern dairying area and the "ranching" counties of the central eastern area. When yearlings are taken into account by the same statistics, a fuller picture of this trade emerges. All but one of the central eastern counties has considerably more than 100 yearlings for every 100 calves under a year old, showing that the area is continuing to import the cattle as they grow older. The other sections of the country have considerably fewer than 100 yearlings for every 100 younger cattle, and have been continuing their exports. The principal dairying counties again have the fewest yearlings and are again the leaders in export.

Likewise in counting two-year-olds, the same proportions hold, and in counting cattle over three years old they hold again. In the last two cases, however, northern counties show a greater export than do the dairying counties of the southwest, the latter presumably having got rid of a larger proportion of all cattle not designed for milk production at an earlier age.

[439] The importing central eastern counties are devoted largely to raising and fattening dry store cattle for the British market. And since this is the case, it can be seen that the statistics given above reflect a continuous movement of cattle, calves, yearlings, and two-year-olds to the rich grazing lands of the central plain. Yet to regard this trade as exclusively geographical would be misleading and obscuring, for the profound differences between small and large holders which we have been examining are involved here as well.

Further statistical inquiry demonstrates that the trade takes place as much between the different sized farms as between the regions of different soil and climate. If we correlate proportions of cattle of various ages with the size of the holdings in the various county groups we have already

named, rather than with the counties as a whole, this great 231
internal cattle trade takes on the new aspect we mention. 438
For example, figures for calves under one year reach 78 and over per 100 milch cows on holdings of all sizes in the thirteen central eastern counties, holdings of all sizes above 30 acres (the average size) in the northern counties, but only on holdings above 100 acres in the calf-producing dairying southwestern counties. That means that, though holdings of all sizes are importing calves in the "ranching" areas, in the other areas only large farms are importing them.

Taking yearlings next, figures on the table showing more than 100 yearlings per 100 calves under one year old appear on all holdings in the thirteen county midland areas except on the very smallest farms, but in the northern and southwestern areas such figures appear only on the very largest holdings. The midlands import yearlings, particularly in the large farms, and in the rest of the country large farms do likewise, but small farmers get rid of them. Thus in the southwestern counties, holders of 200 acres and over, with a count of 118 yearlings per 100 calves, are importers of cattle produced on other farms, as are holders of 100 acres and over in the northern counties, where the counts of yearlings are 132 for the 100–200 acre group and 154 for the 200 and over group. But small farmers in all counties, regardless of the section of the country in which they live, are exporters, not only in dairying Kerry but even in the flatlands of Meath.

Taking a similar count of dry two-year-old cattle, we find that all small holdings in all areas are still exporting, though the size of holding at which exporting ceases is lower in the central eastern area (the 50–100 acre group), and all large holdings in all areas are still importing, though, conversely, the size of holding at which importing begins is higher in the dairying county region.

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For a graphic representation of this argument and its conclusions, let the reader turn to Figures 6 and 7. Figure 6 gives the numbers for various kinds of cattle by various size holdings separated out for the three groups of counties.[22] It shows the characteristic increase of the numbers of store or dry cattle, for export upon holdings as one goes from small to large and from the northern and southern areas of intensive small farm production of different kinds, based upon different soil and climate, to the rich grazing country of the central plain. It shows that one is really dealing with two kinds of increase of holding of dry cattle; the first, the difference of area, and the second, the difference of size of holding. The last seems to be the more important since it has a characteristic influence in each of the areas.

Figure 7 completes the picture. In *A* one sees the characteristic relative absence of milch cows upon large holdings. In *B* one sees that calf production is fairly uniform everywhere. In *C*, however, one begins to see the movement of cattle from small farm to large as the calves grow older. Small holdings have dropped out as possessors of older dry cattle, and through *D* and *E* continue to do so. As the dry cattle mature they become more and more concentrated upon the large holdings. The figure demonstrates at a glance that it is not a geographical trade that is involved so much as it is a trade between the two kinds of economy, between the two rural classes in the Free State.

Numerical statement of the movement of cattle thus shows us that the internal cattle trade in Ireland is in reality a trade between two types of farmers. It reflects again the great difference in the economies of large farmer and small, and shows that this difference extends to their participation in the business, commerce, and export trade of the country. The large farmers are directly concerned with preparation

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[22] The figures are based on tables given in *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926*, pp. xvii, xix.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

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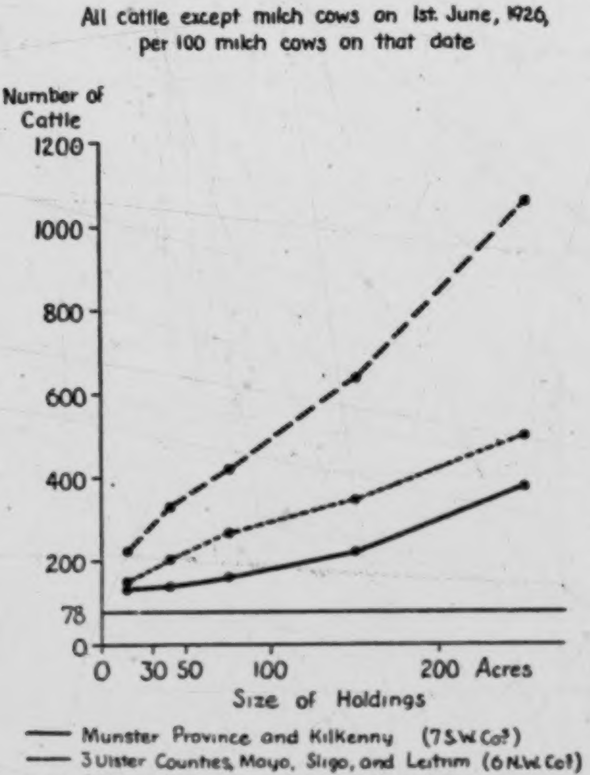
FIGURE 6

PROPORTIONS OF STORE CATTLE TO MILCH CATTLE ON VARIOUS SIZE HOLDINGS IN THE AREAS OF DISTINCTIVE ECONOMY IN THE IRISH FREE STATE

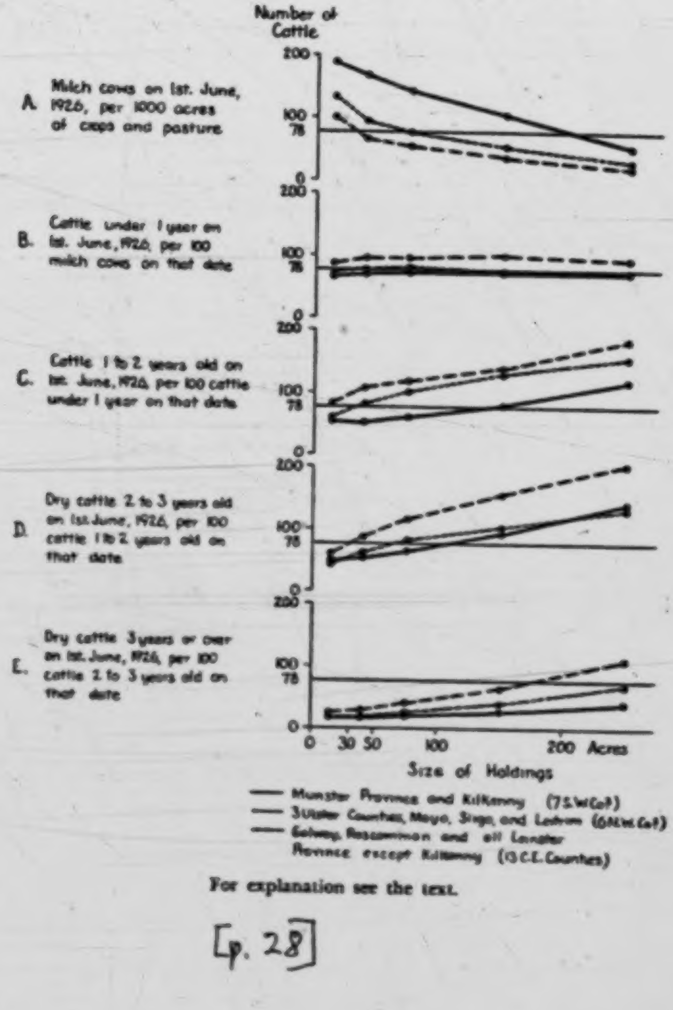


The three areas are those of distinctive climatic and soil conditions. The northern and southern areas are alike in being suppliers of young cattle, the central area in retaining herds of dry cattle. Yet one can see at a glance that the difference among the broad areas reflects real differences in cattle-holding on small and large acreages. Points on the graph express for each size holding the number of non-milk-producing cattle per 100 cattle. The number of non-milk-producing cattle then ranges from a proportion of 78 to 100, to over 1,000 to 100.

[p.27]

FIGURE 7

CATTLE TRADE BETWEEN CLASSES OF IRISH FARMERS, 1926



For explanation see the text.

[p. 28]

of cattle for direct shipment to the English market; the small 231
farmers are concerned only remotely, for the large farmer 438
himself is their immediate market. They deal in much younger cattle and prepare them for sale to the middlemen and the big farmers.

Consequently, the small farmers are much less immedi- 231
ately affected by disturbances in the cattle trade with Great
Britain. The fact has been evident throughout the years of 439
the De Valera regime. It has blasted the prognostications of 648
those who argued that a restriction and interruption of the trade with England, such as grew up in the "economic war" which followed De Valera's retention of the land annuity payments and the English retaliation in the form of import duties on cattle, would alienate the farmers' support of De Valera's government. It certainly alienated the large farmers, who were immediately affected, but the "farmer" of the politician is not always the whole population of that name. It left the small farmer relatively undisturbed. He was at one or two points removed from the actual trade with England and saw it only as a sale to big farmers. With the small farmers, the economic argument of De Valera's opponents failed.

However this may be, the conclusions as to the great 231
division among farmers that statistics and the cattle trade
have yielded us are borne out equally well within the 438
separate counties. County Clare, for instance, shares fully in the internal cattle trade. And in Clare, the trade flows from small farmers to large. There are no statistics on the matter, but the generalities hold. Clare occupies a middle place within the system of exchanges. It is one of the seven southwestern dairying counties we have dealt with. But it does not always follow them statistically. As we have seen, Clare is a county of mixed holdings. Both the midland type of big farmer and the small farmer of the west and south are present. The cattle trade within Clare is a miniature of

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that of Ireland. Clare buys in as many cattle in certain sections as it exports in others. Those who do the bulk of the buying are big farmers from the flatlands along the Fergus estuary or the hills of Burren. The small farmers of the remaining sections do the selling.

All this tedious statistical inquiry has not been without its purpose. It has established for us through the medium of economic inquiry the existence of two distinct kinds of orientation and adaptation to the soil and two kinds of agricultural activity. In doing so, in marking the first distinctions and differences to be observed among the dwellers of the countryside and showing us something of the relations between them, it has introduced us to the first great group with which we must deal: the small farmers.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

## CHAPTER II

# *Small Farm Economy*

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THE small farmers' family groups inhabit the holdings 361
or plots of land from which they make the livelihood 592
we have described numerically. Except in a few and special cases, there is no physical separation of house plot from fields; the individual family's plot is usually a continuous one, and the other forms of settlement present in Ireland are rapidly being reshaped with that condition as the ideal. Consequently, the farmhouse is most often, though not always, a comparatively isolated house standing upon its own ground and forming an integral part of the holding. In it the farm family group spends its entire life, sleeping, eating, giving birth and dying there, and sallying forth every day for work upon the fields.

The farm family lives and performs almost all of its work 592
within this spatial unit of land and house. And the unit is identified with the family in the eyes of its community in name and ownership. Outside this range, the farmer has little participation in affairs in comparison with others of the population. His wife and children have even less. Within this range most of the activity marking the relations of the human beings who make up the group takes place.

The "land," as we have seen, is usually divided into 231
"field," "meadow," "garden," "bog," and "mountain," ac- 241
cording to its character and agricultural use. These divi- 311
sions make up the holding and represent the productive

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

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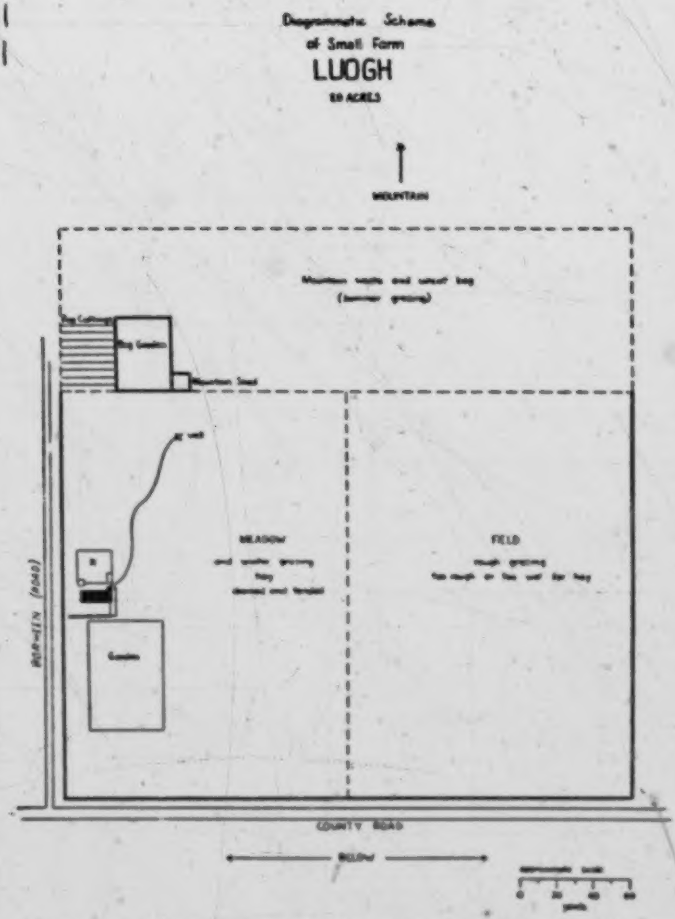
FIGURE 8


Diagrammatic Schema
of Small Farm
LUOGH
MOUNTAIN
MEADOW
FIELD
Garden
COUNTY ROAD
BELOW

Schematic representation (not to scale) of composite Clare farm of about five to fifty acres.

[p. 32]

activities in small farm economy. The plots so designated 231
are devoted, respectively, to cattle-grazing, hay, tillage crops 241
for human and animal consumption, and turf for fuel, and 311
rough summer grazing. Nearer the house is the farmyard or "haggard," in which the hayrick and turfrick are and other supplies, such as potatoes stored in straw bins, stand ready for household and farm use.

The house opens directly into the haggard. There are 231
the cabins, in which the cattle are housed, and the various
sheds and stalls, often built out of the dry masonry of the 343
house itself, in which the farm machines, traps, sidecars, 351
carts, and other vehicles are kept. Hens and other poultry roam at will through the haggard and are fed and housed there, and in one of the sheds the pig or pigs find their quarters. As for the house itself, which gives orientation to the haggard and is responsible for the spatial arrangements in it, we shall have occasion to discuss it somewhat later.

Figure 8 gives a schematic view of the kind of farm called 231
"all-purpose land" by the Irish Land Commission. This view 241
is a composite and represents no single farm, but it is taken 311
from direct observation of many in Clare. It depicts a mountain farm in which bog land is included. Otherwise it would do for any area.

Figure 9 gives a schematic view of a house and haggard 342
also in Clare. This is modeled after a house in which one of
the authors spent considerable time as a guest, and is care- 343
fully and faithfully depicted. But it serves, too, as a general 351
plan for all such houses of small farmers.

The daily activity of the farm family and the daily work 512
which its members carry on center round the house and haggard. Even for the men, whose primary work lies in the fields, gardens, and meadows, work centers in and round the house for a good part of the year. A short sketch of the daily activity which may be observed in any peasant farmhouse will throw into relief the work done by the various

[text continues on p. 35]

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

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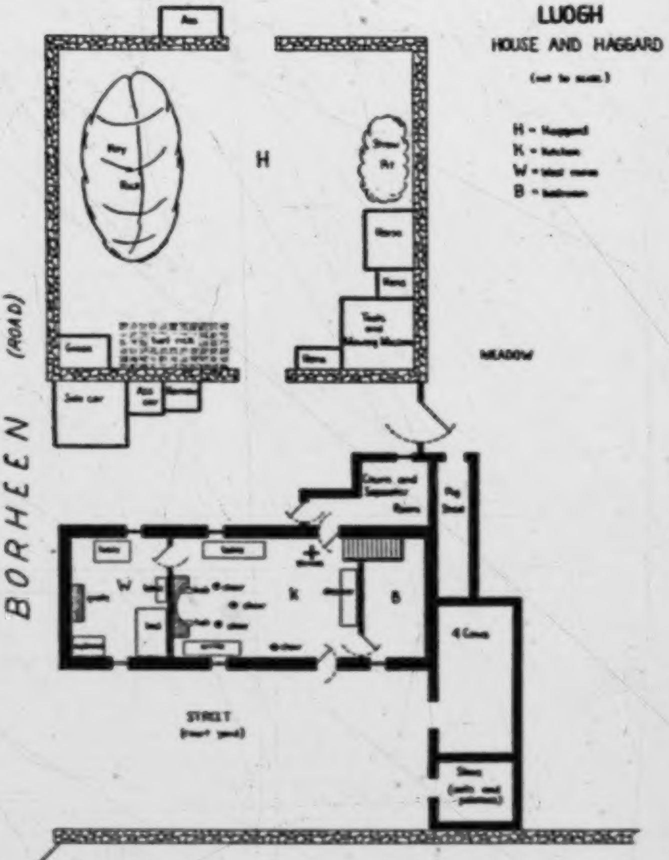
FIGURE 9


LUOGH
HOUSE AND HAGGARD
H = Haggard
K = kitchen
W = west room
B = bedroom
H
MEADOW
BORHEEN (ROAD)
W
K
B
4 Cows
STREET
GARDEN

Schematic plan of a typical small farmer's house and farmyard, illustrating his familist economy and functional division of his household.

[p.34]

members and the organization of effort involved. It is to 512
be expected, of course, that there is a great deal of variation at different seasons of the year, a fact which makes it impossible to describe farm activities without reference to seasonal change and the requirements of various crops. Nevertheless, the work round the house is constant and less variant than that outside on the "land," and for that reason it is significant to begin with it.

A typical winter day begins for the farm family about 512
seven-thirty in the morning. At other seasons the family 462
rises earlier, but the long wet days have reduced outside 264
work to a bare minimum and confine the work of the family members within doors. To the woman falls the first duty of the day. She must rake together such live ashes as remain in the slaked turf fire in the hearth, put down new sods for the fire, and rekindle the blaze. This done, she hangs the
kettle on the hook, making ready for the first tea of the day. [272]
For the rest of the day she must keep the hanging kettle ready, for at any moment of the day she may be called upon to serve a cup of tea to her husband, children, and all visitors. With the first tea comes breakfast, usually of bread, [262]
eggs, and milk. By the time breakfast is finished, the household is ready for its workaday existence. The farmer father and husband is dressed and ready for his daily tasks, in which he relies upon the aid of whatever grown sons may still be at home, and who now take their breakfasts beside him. Similarly, the farm wife and mother who serves her men, husband and sons, and stands by unwilling to take her place at the deal table before the window at one side of the kitchen hearth until they have eaten their fill, is ready to begin her daily round with the help of the daughters and young children of both sexes who wait their turns with her.

In the household the responsibility of day-to-day house- 512
keeping belongs to the woman. Hers, too, is the care of the 462
356

512 children. If they are of school age, she must dress them,
feed them, and get them off to school. She does all the cook-
462 ing and washing up after meals and keeps the teapot always
356 ready. Each morning she sweeps the house, makes the beds, and so on. The clothes of the household are her care as well, and the indispensable and constant mending of them which rough wear makes necessary all falls to her lot.

This household work is familiar to us; the point of itemizing it is merely to make clear the confined sphere in which the woman's recurrent and indispensable duties fall.

512 But her work stretches beyond the house door. In the
462 morning after breakfast she takes the milk buckets and milks
356 the cows in the sheds in the haggard. This is merely one of
the many trips she makes in and out of the kitchen doors for
231 fuel, for water, to feed and tend the animals and the fowl.
234 Her milking finished, she must bring the milk in and separate it. In recent years, more prosperous farms have been able to make use of the separator. If there is none, she must set the milk in large pans and allow the cream to rise. The whole process of the conversion of milk to butter is her charge.

512 After the morning milking and the feeding of her human
charges, she must turn her attention to the feeding of the
462 farm animals, especially the young ones. The cows and
231 horses are not her province, but all the care of the calves, pigs, and fowl falls to her lot. She prepares a mixture of warm milk and grain for the calves, feeding them from a bucket. They must not be allowed to suck, as the milk is meant for human consumption. Then she boils a large kettle of potatoes over the fire for the chickens and the pigs, or takes them the leavings of the previous day.

512 Before noon she hangs another kettle over the fire filled
462 with potatoes for the use of the family. In season she adds
251 white cabbage and nearly always includes a portion or two
of bacon, some of it home cured in brine to resemble salt
PORK.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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County Clare

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THE WOMAN OF THE HOUSE DRIVES HOME A COW

[facing p.36]

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

462 pork. By the time this is ready, the men are in from the fields impatient for their dinner.

In the meantime the men have been engaged upon work of their own. The farmer rises when he hears his wife busy herself in rekindling the turf on the hearth. If there are sons, he wakes them. After that he goes to the cow barns in the haggard to inspect the cattle housed there overnight and tend to their wants in water and hay. After breakfast, if the day is fine, neither too bitterly cold nor too soakingly wet, he sallies forth into the fields to whatever work the time of the year demands. If he finds himself confined to the house, he still has plenty to do in house and haggard.

512 If he and his sons go to the fields, he probably returns
462 about eleven-thirty for the noon meal, the heavy meal of
264 the day. Long habit calls forth his hunger and identifies it
[153] with the house. Several countrymen have remarked that they never feel hungry away from the house but are ready to eat when they get inside. The dinner unites most of the family for the first time during the day since breakfast. Only the small children of school age are absent. Their share of the meal is often saved for them until they return about four o'clock.

[262] As at breakfast, the men sit down together immediately, falling to the steaming plates of cabbage, bacon, and potatoes the woman sets before them. As they eat, she stands
[521] ready to refill their plates, talking with them about the morning's work and the news of the neighborhood. It is the chief time of family conversation. During the meal the woman has boiled tea and, when the men finish with their plates, she clears away and lays bread and tea before them. Sometimes there is a longer interval between tea and dinner, devoted to smoking and talk.

512
264 As before, the women and children do not eat until the men have finished. They take their places together when
[573] the men have left or have moved off to smoke an after-dinner pipe, an indispensable part of the meal for them.

512 dinner pipe, an indispensable part of the meal for them.
264 The children may sometimes not come to the table but eat
sitting upon the settle or the hearth seats. They are very
[521 silent children. They take little part in the family discus-
858] sion between older members unless questioned directly.

512 After dinner the men return to their work. The women
462 begin their household and farmyard tasks anew. The fowl
have grown so hungry, meanwhile, that they are invading
231 the kitchen and the woman must "hunt" them out of the house. From what remains of the pot of potatoes (which may often hold as much as forty pounds) she feeds them and feeds, too, the household pets. They eat what the family eats, though meat comes their way only upon special occasions.

This done, the woman's chores for the afternoon are much the same as those of the morning. Another large pot of potatoes, mangels, and turnips must be prepared for the pigs, more milk and grain mixed and fed to the calves, turf brought in for the fire, water fetched from the well, and rooms cleaned and swept, in an endless cycle of activity. Should the routine duties come to a pause, there is still always plenty to do in washing, mending, and knitting the clothes of the household. The woman's hands are never idle.

512 There is another important daily activity within the
462 house. The great staple, bread, is baked daily into round
252 cakes or loaves upon the "griddle," an iron tripod, on the
354 hearth. The woman may bake at any time during the day and, if necessary, more than once. Even late in the evening, when the whole family is gathered round the fire, her last task may be to bake bread for late evening tea.

512 After four in the "evening" (as the countryman divides
462 the day), the children arrive from school and must be fed.
The woman sits down with them, talking over the happen-
[521
203 ings of the day, for children are important purveyors of
858] News.

news. An hour or so later[1] the man brings the cattle in from 512
the fields, if they have been grazing during the day. He is 462
ready for evening tea. [231]

At that hour the work of the men is over for the day, but that of the woman goes on. She must prepare, serve, and clean up after the tea, and then go milk the cows brought in from the fields. Her work ends only with the separating that takes place when she brings her milk into the house. Even then, while the men may sit round the fire talking over the day's work or the affairs of the community, she is not idle. If the children need help in lessons, it is she who gives it to them. She puts them to bed, and, if she returns then to join the men at the fire, she continues with knitting and baking. When the whole family has finally gone off to bed, it is she who must close up the house at night and slake the fire in the hearth.

Work round and inside the house is continuous and varies very little from day to day and season to season. It involves a continuous activity by which the household group orders its life and fulfills its needs of nourishment and shelter in the midst of a carefully patterned regularity of habitual behaviors. What variation there is in the accepted pattern is itself confined to narrow range. Certain chores indispensable in the day-to-day habits of the people are divided among days of the week. One woman informant, a small farmer's wife in Inagh, gave as her weekly round a much more rigid daily division of tasks than is actually to be observed. On Monday she did the washing, on Tuesday the ironing, on Thursday she made butter, on Friday she went
to market, on Saturday she got ready for Sunday, and on [527]
Sunday she went to mass and did as little as she could. Really, however, it is only on Sunday that there comes any serious alteration in the daily round.

Work in the land beyond the haggard and the house is 512
less restricted and more varied. It has a greater range of

[1] [about 5 P.M. - Analyst]

512 activity over the farm and over the round of the year.
Coupled with such greater variety, there is also a greater
freedom of choice among necessary tasks. The necessities
imposed by soil and climate permit a wider range of action
and a less narrowly repetitious routine than do the ordered
regularities of a household.

512 Yet within the greater range of activity there is still a
221 constant and nearly invariant pattern of work. The progression of the seasons brings a recurrent demand upon the
farmer in the care of beasts, crops, and the land itself. Each
season brings a task which must be performed, begun, or
ended if the farmer is to raise his produce successfully.
512 Similarly, the custom and rivalry of the community exert
626 a further restriction upon his activity. He works within the
influence of a long-established tradition of ancestral experience which has established for him the best dates for planting, for reaping, for breeding cattle, and for most of the
tasks of his yearly round. The community holds that tradition in common, and the farmer is caught in the midst of a
mesh of rivalries, competitions, and gossip in praise and
condemnation, which binds him the more strongly to the
accepted patterning of his yearly activity.

512 The seasonal rhythm of farm work reaches its lowest pitch
221 in winter. Activity is confined to house and haggard. On
bitter wet days little can be done beyond the haggard wall,
462 but within it there is always a variety of necessary tasks involving care of farm machinery, implements, and buildings,
and the housing and feeding of the cattle who cannot be
driven to graze in the open field. In the house there is much
that can be done. Harness can be patched, boots fitted with
new soles, plates, and spikes, furniture repaired and occasionally new pieces made.

These tasks fall to the males of the household, the farmer father and his grown or adolescent sons. Any discussion of the annual round of farm work necessarily describes their

labors, for all the tasks not strictly connected with the 512
household fall in their province. We shall have occasion 221
later to examine fully the sexual dichotomy of labor such a 462
division of tasks represents.

For the countryman the Christmas season, from the beginning 132
of Advent to Epiphany or "Little Christmas"
(January 6), is the dead of winter. It is a period in which 527
all farm work is at a standstill. The farmer has completed 221
the last of his harvest and brought in the last of his potatoes
from the field. The cattle are securely housed against the
winter cold. The farmer feels himself free to sit round the
house during the cold wet days and devote his season to
holiday. The working day is at its shortest. Outside, the
weather is usually unsettled, a cold rain falling on the sodden
fields. It is for him as though the course of the year had
stopped and were waiting, gathering its forces for the new
year.

It is a period of great social activity in the local community. 221
The very important religious ceremonies of the season 527
call forth an intensified activity in the parish. There are
constant visits back and forth; each house is ready to offer 574
its hospitality to its neighbors; and the community gives 621
itself over to dances, cards, talk, and calls. Not until the
religious season closes with Epiphany does the countryman
feel that the year begins anew.

With the beginning of the year, the cold uncertain 221
weather with its succession of bitter wet days, leaving the 132
fields too wet to work, does not end, but the Christmas 241
season has marked the transition. The farmer must now
make his plans for the spring planting, lay in his seed, repair
machinery, and make ready for the season about to begin.
On drier days he can busy himself in the field in cleaning
ditches and drainages. In the evenings much of the conversation 221
on visits and at home revolves round the coming 521
planting, and both new and traditional experience with

221 types, varieties, growth cycles, yields, and care of seeds and
521 cattle passes round by word of mouth.

[805] The first of February, St. Brigid's Day, marks the begin-
221 ning of spring. For the countryman the return of the
132 "hard" days of wind and clear weather herald the season of
241 the land's drying off. Through February and March the gardens must be prepared, potatoes planted, and the fields made ready for the return of the cattle to them. Each hard day is a welcome opportunity, for only then can work in the fields go on. With favorable weather, the work of preparation is over in the beginning of March, and the actual planting begins. By St. Patrick's Day, with its promise of continuous hard weather, the gardens are ready for a second planting.

221 The potatoes demand the greatest attention. A fortnight
241 after they are planted, they must be manured well with manure brought from the pile near the cattle cabins, and the ground must be leveled so that the plant will not go to stalk and thus fail to produce tubers. A fortnight more and the ground must be "softened" and the earth round the plant, which now shows its first leaves, must be "stirred." By the time May is reached, the potatoes must be "landed." Earth must be taken from between the long ridges in which the potatoes are planted and heaped up over them from each side. Thereafter nothing remains until the harvest but a summer spraying against blight.

221 Throughout the spring the cattle have demanded atten-
231 tion. March and April see the birth of calves and the
438 beginning of the milk season and intensified butter-making. The great spring cattle fairs take place. The farmer must devote himself to the all-important business of buying and selling his milch and store cattle and his calves. At home the cattle demand constant care against hunger, disease, and cold as he mixes their diet of fast diminishing hay with the slowly returning pasture grass.

The farmer's work in the gardens does not end with the 221
"landing of the potatoes." Mangels and turnips and what- 241
ever grains he may grow must be planted, the soil prepared
for them, and the growing crop weeded and tended. With
the planting of the turnips, the last crop to be "put down,"
often as late as early June, his planting season is over. 314

With the return of warm weather and the drying off of 221
the land, Irish summer begins. May is the first summer 372
month. And by early May the bogs are dry enough to al- [805]
low turf cutting to begin. The farmer must ordinarily find time between plantings to cut his year's supply of fuel and stack it into "reeks" to dry under the summer warmth. The turf cutting, though not connected with growing plants or animals, is an indispensable farm activity and takes its place among the never varying tasks of the agricultural round.

Once the turf is cut and stacked, the fruits of the farmer's 221
labor begin to appear. His first crop is cabbage which was 241
planted in a small garden near the house at odd free times 262
during the early spring. Cabbage is practically the only green vegetable of the small farm diet, and the old people remember "Hungry July" or July *an chabáiste* when a delayed potato crop might condemn them to a month or more of semistarvation in which cabbage was the only food. Today new varieties of potatoes have been introduced which mature as early as late June.

The mature potatoes mark no harvest. They are left in 221
the ground to be turned out of the ridges with spade or 241
plough as occasion for them demands. Not until late November will the last of them be dug up.

The first true harvest and the most important one of the 246
year is the haymaking. The cutting of hay begins in late 221
July or early August. It is not only the most important activity of the year, insuring a year-long supply of fodder for the farm animals and the income-producing cattle, but it is

221 also one that calls forth the united efforts of the whole
246 family. It is a race, too, against time and rainy weather, and
every effort must be bent to mow, rake, and let dry, and
stack the meadow grasses, first in small haycocks, then in a
great hayrick in the haggard, before rain brings rot to the
lush crop. The farmers well speak of the harvest as "saving
the hay."

221 No sooner is the hay saved than the corn crops demand
241 attention. Rye and oats are ready for the scythe or the
mowing machine (only the larger farmers have reapers) by
[407 late August. The farmer and his sons must bind it, stack it,
556] and leave it for several days drying. Later they will return
to the fields and cart it back to the haggard for threshing.
Not long ago the flail was still the most frequent means of
threshing among the small farmers. In recent years steam-
[407] powered threshing machines make the rounds, and threshing,
which under the older system seems to have taken place
as need arose for the grain, takes place now more regularly
in late September and early October.

221 With the bringing in of the corn, the agricultural year
draws to a close. Through October and November turnips
241 and mangels are ready to be "pulled" and stored in the
251 fields, near at hand to the haggard, in straw- and earth-covered
pits. The potatoes which remain in the ridges must
be turned up with spade and plough and similarly stored
for the winter. All the root crops are indispensable supplies
for men and animals during the months to come when there
is no grass. The winter's supply of turf must be brought to
[492] the haggard from the reeks alongside of the bogs, where it
has been drying for the summer. The carting is an intermittent
labor, performed by the men at odd times when
they are free of other duties. As winter comes with Novem-
221 ber cold and rain, the cattle must be housed and made ready
231 for the long, dark days of no grass to come; and the farmer
is busy with them acquiring and disposing of his stock, as

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he was in the spring, for the autumn fairs bring him an 231
important market.

If he has been fortunate and industrious, nothing remains 221
for him to do but to prepare his fields for the next year. The 241
soil he has used for root crops must be turned, and the
gardens which he intends for grain are ploughed. As he
follows the furrows, he can look back upon a year ended,
and forward to another to begin. By the time his ploughing
is finished, the dead of winter and the holiday season of
Christmas is upon him and the yearly round is over.

Yet it is over only to repeat itself. For within the range 221
of the seasonal variation and the demands of growing and
maturing crops and animals the pattern of farm work in
haggard, garden, meadow, and field is a constant one. Much
the same progression of labor flows along year after year,
and follows the farmer from boyhood till death. Yet there
is much less restriction in choice of operation to be performed, in movement over space, in the possibility of day-to-day variation than in the case of the work of the household.

## CHAPTER III

# *Family Labor*

593 462 AT crucial points in the annual round we have sketched out, the whole family lends its labor. Particularly at the turf making, the hay saving, and the potato planting, all members work together in bog, garden, or meadow. Though tasks vary according to age, sex, and relative status, the group works in a unison of effort in which a definite rhythm can be observed. Under the direction of the father, the husband and farm-owner, the variously divided tasks are correlated to the end in view. The periods of common effort in which all the family members, even to the children, are working in unison are also those in which the greatest speed is needed. At such times the pattern of daily household activity suffers; the regularities belonging to it are transferred to the field. Tea and bread, and perhaps sometimes heavier fare, make their appearance at the regular times, no longer within the house but on the edge of bog or meadow.

Within this concerted effort, a division of labor between the sexes and upon the basis of age appears. The division, however, is not confined entirely to farm work. It covers the whole field of the behavior of the individual. It divides obligations, duties, sentiments, and values of the group, and is enforced by the group. It pertains both among the members of the family groups and in the community at large. It controls individual action and attitudes and gives a standard of comparison between one's own farm work and that of one's fellows. The interests and the desires of the individual concur in large measure with the norm, and he finds reward and pleasure in it. He can rely upon similar obligations and duties toward himself on the part of others.

The greatest scope and variation in activity which we have seen to fall to the lot of the male takes its form in part from his relationship to the others of the household. On the normal farm there is an adult male farmer who is husband, father, and owner of the farm. Within the group he has the controlling role, subject to conventional restrictions of his authority. In farm work, as we have seen, he directs the activity of the family as it works in concert. In his special province he looks after and cares for the cattle, has full control over them, and takes complete charge of buying and selling them. He disposes of the income they bring in. But all this he is obliged to do in the interests of his wife and children. Should he fail to get a good price or prove a bad judge of cattle or handle them badly, his wife and children are entitled to a just anger against him.

As we have seen, all the work requiring heavy effort in garden and field falls to his lot. He makes and tends the drains, fences, barns, and shelters, which protect both cattle and garden produce. He works the fields and gardens with plough, mower, harrow, and spade. All the agricultural implements and the heavy work involved in their use and in the use of the horse are his province.

The produce which such work assures is his to be disposed of, as is all income derived from it. He may order it as he sees fit; yet his first charge is to the family he heads. The division of income between household needs and the demands of farm and livestock springs from his decisions; yet it is a matter of nice adjustment between himself and his wife in favor of the group as a whole. Custom and his own desire demand that he provide for his household to

593 the best of his ability. Though he can make what disposal
462 he will of the funds earned by the labor of the group, his
wife and children can expect as of right that he shall make
it for the family as a whole in which each member receives
his share. For the work of his wife is complementary to his,
and in its own sphere of as great importance to the livelihood and the organization of the family unit. While he may demand and expect of his wife that she fulfill her household duties, so may she demand and expect that he fulfill his in the management and working of the farm and in providing for herself and the children.

593 As regards income, all money derived from the sale of eggs and butter, the chief concern of the women beyond the house itself, belongs to her to dispose of as she sees fit. Yet the fruits of her labors are also subject to the needs of the family unit, husband and children.

462 The division of labor between the sexes arises within a
593 field of larger interests and obligations. It is part of the
behavior expected reciprocally of husband and wife. It is a functional element of their relationship within the family.

868 The training each sex receives from childhood in farm work reflects this fact. Each learns his or her part in farm economy, not as a vocational preparation but as a making ready for marriage. The boy acquires his man's skills and techniques for the farm and farm family he may head himself some day; the girl learns the woman's role as an integral part of her future state of wife and mother. Each learns to expect of the other not only the loving consideration of husband or wife but the proper skills in farm economy.

462 Among the small farmers this dichotomy of tasks assigned
626 to the sexes in the economy of the farm family is more even
183 than the reciprocal duties of husband and wife, father and
mother. It is also an integral part of the personalities of all men and women of the peasant's own kind. One can get many expressions of attitude of this sort. They show that

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

the division of labor between males and females is regarded 462
as corresponding to the natural propensities of the two sexes. 626
That a man should concern himself with a woman's work, 183
such as the sale of eggs or the making of butter, is the subject of derisive laughter, while a woman's smaller hands make it "natural" for her to be a better hand at milking the cows.

Even when the communal labor of the family is demanded 241
and women take their place in bog, garden, and meadow, 462
a definite role is assigned them. Usually it is the lighter tasks which are known as women's work. There is no formal [562]
taboo confining a woman to women's work. Heavy work is merely felt to be a hardship upon her. At the potato planting the women do the arduous work of planting the sprouts which they have prepared, bending over to put them into the ridges prepared by the men. They do their share, if necessary, of cultivating, but they are not generally accustomed to the spade, which like the plough, the harrow, the mower, scythe, and turf "slan" is regarded as a masculine implement. At the potato lifting they go along behind the man who turns the potatoes out of the ridge with spade and plough, and pick them up. At the haymaking, the pitching, raking, and some of the building of the haycocks are left to them. But the mowing, especially where it involves the horse-drawn mowing machine, and the building of the rick in the haggard, are masculine skills. In all cases of field work of this sort the role of the woman is usually auxiliary.
The same holds in turf cutting. The men do the actual [314]
cutting in the bog trenches, while the women knead the peat into briquets and pile it for drying.

The many attitudes and beliefs which surround this type 241
of division of labor illustrate again the socially determined 462
character of the distinctions and their genesis in the inter- 626
sexual relationship. Just as the man's work is the harder, 183
the more various, and the wider in scope, so the attitudes
express a greater valuation of the men's work within the 461

241 limits of the restriction. Thus on several occasions the
462 authors have heard men admonish a woman for interrup-
626 tion with such phrases as: "Woman, be silent while we
183 [men] are talking about ploughing." Ridicule and laugh-
461 ter greet suggestions that either sex busy itself with the
work of the other, though in the case of a woman doing a man's work some of the praise bestowed upon surprising successes meets her if she does it well. There is also an entire body of popular belief and superstition surrounding the dichotomy in farm labor.

462 These beliefs and attitudes serve to uphold the conven-
593 tional division and to evaluate the necessary behavioral
183 specialization which is basic to the interrelationships within
626 the farm family. The connection between family status and
labor performed brings about an identification between them. Ridicule and graver charges of unmanliness and unwomanliness can be brought to reaffirm the conventions against the offender in either sphere. Just as in the non-economic life of the family, behavior is enjoined upon members on the basis of sex, so, when the group acts in economic enterprise, different but complementary roles become conventional for each sex. The interesting point is the identification. For the farm family, farm work is as much a family matter as is sharing the same table.

462 Within the framework of the division of labor on the
593 basis of sex, there is another just as great division on the
561 basis of age differences. Though all the males of the farm
family share the work which is regarded as the masculine province, there can be immediately observed great differences in the practice of the masculine technique by the male family members; the same can be observed in the feminine province.

These further divisions of tasks likewise reflect family status. They are part of the behavior expected of the farmer as a family member, and take their form in the complex of

his relationship to his fellows within the group. The con- 593
trols exercised among members in work and in the life of 561
the family in general show themselves a constant pattern to 462
be observed from farm to farm wherever one elects to examine the daily and annual rounds of activity.

Thus in any of the tasks which the group must perform in its economy, the division of labor between the adult farmer-father and his sons may be observed. The father is owner and director of the enterprise; in him the farm and its income are vested; in the community it is known as his and the sons are spoken of as his "boys." Thus in the draining of a field or the sale of cattle in a fair, the sons, even though fully adult, work under their father's eye and refer necessary decisions to him.

Perhaps the best method of illustrating this relationship 462
is to present it from the point of view of the growing individual who takes his place in the farm family. He forms 561
part of the productive unit which is his own family. The 593
techniques of farming are passed on to him, and he learns 868
them under the direction of his father, uncles, and brothers. At their hands he acquires the conditioning which will fit him to form a farm family of his own, thus to continue the traditional pattern. Naturally, his conditioning is more than merely technological; he gets on the farm the full training which makes him a member of his class and time.

The growing child ordinarily sees his father as owner and principal worker of the farm. When the whole family group of father, mother, children, and whatever other relatives may be living with them, works in concert, as at the potato planting, the turf cutting, and the haymaking, it is the father who directs the group's activities, himself doing the heavy tasks. The father looks after and takes care of the cattle, delegating minor tasks connected with them to his sons. Even though the cattle may be generally discussed by

462 the household, he has full control of them, disposes of them,
561 drives them to the fair, handles and uses the money got for
593 them. If he fails to get a good price, handles the beasts badly,
868 or proves himself a bad judge of them, the criticism of his
wife and neighbors soon establishes the value of careful husbandry in the son's mind.

462 The father does all the constant heavy work necessary to
keep the land in condition in so rainy and treeless a country.
593 He makes drains, ditches, fences, walls, shelters, and barns,
868 as we have seen. As the son grows older, he learns to help at these tasks, finally taking them over. The father prepares the garden, ploughs, plants, and harrows, does all the spade work of cultivation and everything involving the use of horses and agricultural implements. The son soon learns that these are men's tasks, and he gradually assumes his share of them. The adult men of the neighborhood rival one another at these tasks; they chafe and boast back and forth over their prowess. The son cannot fail to hear and value
462 the techniques which he acquires.

593 He learns those techniques in a narrow school. Where
868 tradition is still so strong and the incursions of trained
626 agriculturalists still relatively infrequent, as among the
small farmers, there is little variation from the tried and true way. Each operation and each tool demand a technique of their own. The father makes sure that the son learns it well. Command, rivalry, ridicule, and many an adage and bit of folklore all conspire to the same result.

The father must make sure that the son has learned the right and traditional technique. For he must be ready to stand his ground with anyone in the community in farm skills. Every operation becomes the intimate concern of his neighbors; a man must hold his head high. More important,
[461] many skills are plied in coöperative activities, in turf cutting, haymaking, and much of the work of the garden. In such cases, a definite rhythm is necessary for greater effec-

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tiveness among the coöperating workers, and any deviation from the accepted technique destroys such unison. This, too, the son learns at his father's hands.

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At home the son learns that building and repairing the houses, sheds, and other structures of the farm is men's work and that the duty of performing it devolves on the father. He watches his father buy and use all the feeding stuffs needed for farm animals and learns something of the nice adjustment which must be made between the expenditures of this kind and those demanded by the women of the household for food, clothing, and household needs. He finds himself included in the family deliberations which impress upon him the economic interdependence of the family and the division of labor between men and women.

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The process is a gradual one. It is an integral part of daily experience protracted over many years. In his earliest childhood, of course, the mother looms larger in the child's consciousness than the father. The child's first duties, as soon as he can speak and walk, are to run on petty errands to neighbors and near-by "friends." Soon he is taking his father's meals to him in the fields or going on errands to the nearest shop. Until he is seven and has gone through First Communion, his place is in the house with the women, and his labor is of very little importance. After First Communion, at six or seven, he begins to be thrown more with his elder brothers, and comes to do small chores which bring him more and more into contact with his father and with the other men of the neighborhood. By the time he is ten or eleven he will be brought home from school, if needed, to take his part in the important agricultural work of the year, particularly at spring sowing and hay harvest. But not till he passes Confirmation and leaves school (generally at the same time) does he take on full men's work. Even then, as he becomes adult and takes on more and more of the heavy tasks of the farm work, he never escapes his father's

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593 direction until his father dies or makes over the farm to
883 him at his marriage.

If economic apprenticeship is also a process of conditioning
593 within the family, so likewise the direction of economic
enterprise coincides with the dominant and controlling role
of the parent within the family. The son is subordinated in
both spheres to his parents, particularly the father. Rather,
the spheres are one.

For the child grows up within the full complex of life
593 within the family. The petty errands which constitute his
867 first steps in farm work are a mere incident in the conditioning
he receives and the relationships he builds up with
his fellows. He develops the sentiments of affection and
dependence upon his mother and the other family members
in those years in the care and attention he receives at their
hands. He learns the code of conduct which constitutes the
folkways of his group and the reciprocal relations within
his family in a gradual process of training over years. This
conduct ranges from the errands he runs for family members
[864 superordinate to him, to the learning of his prayers and the
development of the sentiments which make of sexual behavior
684] of any kind an offense and of that within the family,
incest.

593 Thus the same landmark in his life which marks his beginning
857 to do the minor chores of farm work after six or
513 seven marks a change of his life within the household, for
thereafter he sleeps with his brothers and the separation
which begins to take him from his sisters in work and play
now separates them within the household.

Later his sharing of chores with his brothers in farm
593 work is again merely incidental to his long years of life
561 with them. By the same token the commanding position
which the father (and the mother) exercise over him in farm
work is but one aspect of their control. We shall have occasion
to see in a later section how this dominance expresses

itself in household arrangement and in the grouping of individuals in other spheres than farm work. 593 561

This parental dominance continues as long as the father lives. Even though the major work of the farm devolves upon the sons, they have no control of the direction of farm activities nor of the disposal of farm income. They go to market and fair from the time they are twelve years old, but they buy or sell little, if anything, for themselves. Thus the small farmer and his sons are often seen at the fairs and markets together, but it is the farmer-father who does the bargaining. Once when one of the authors asked a countryman about this at a potato market, he explained that he could not leave his post for long because his full-grown son "isn't well known yet and isn't a good hand at selling." If the son wants a half crown to go to a hurley match or to take a drink on market day with friends, he must get it from his father. The authors have seen many sons, fully adult, come into shops to buy some farm requirement, such as a bag of meal, and say that the "old fellow" will pay for it. And a few days later the old fellow arrives to pay for the goods "my young fellow got." The son may, of course, earn money in employment off the farm, as many do at work on the roads in occasional employment with governmental bodies or large farmers. But in this case he is expected to contribute the larger part of the money to the general household expenses as long as he remains on the farm.

The procedure of the Land Commission, a government body, in providing additions to small holdings from the [654] break-up of large estates illustrates well this retention of parental authority. It is the policy of the Commission to employ local men as much as possible in the reclamation and fencing work necessary at the division of an estate; the owners of the holdings to be enlarged are entitled to the work. Consequently, when the work is given, the farmer owners are assigned it. But it is the sons who do the work, 593 561 and at the pay-off the "old fellows" walk sometimes many miles to be paid the wages their sons have earned. In one case of land division which the authors witnessed, a Land Commission official walked about the estate pointing out the plots which the selected farmers were to get. The farmers followed in a body at a respectful distance, each ready to step forward when his name was called. Behind them came all the young men of the neighborhood, the farmers' sons. When it was necessary to send someone back to a farmhouse or to cut up stakes to mark boundaries, the orders were transmitted from the official to the farmer and from the farmer to his sons, though these were in the majority of cases adult men. Likewise in country post offices, even after the farm has been made over to the son and the "old people" have the old-age pension, it is the son who comes to collect it for them.

Even at forty-five and fifty, if the old couple have not yet made over the farm, the countryman remains a "boy" in respect to farm work and in the rural vocabulary. A deputy to the *Dáil* (the Irish parliament) raised a considerable laugh in 1933, which echoed into the daily newspapers, when he inadvertently dropped into the country idiom and pleaded for special treatment in land division for "boys of forty-five and older" who have nothing in prospect but to wait for their fathers' farms. Likewise, a countryman, complaining to one of the authors about his position, said: "You can be a boy here forever as long as the old fellow is still alive."

593 561 861 It goes without saying that the father exercises his control over the whole activity of the "boy." It is by no means confined to their work together. Indeed, the father is the court of last resort, which dispenses punishment for deviations from the norm of conduct in all spheres. Within the bounds of custom and law he has full power to exercise discipline. Corporal punishment is not a thing of the past in

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Ireland, and, especially in the intermediate stages of the child's development, from seven to puberty, it gets full play. 593

It is during those years that the characteristic relationship between father and son is developed in rural communities. The son has suffered a remove from the previous almost exclusive control of its mother, in which an affective content of sympathy and indulgence was predominant, and is brought into contact for the first time with the father and older men. But the transfer is not completed. There is a hiatus in his development through the years of school when his participation in men's work and his relationship with his father has little chance of developing into an effective partnership. A real union of interests does not take place until after Confirmation and school-leaving, when for the first time his exclusive contacts and his entire day-to-day activity, particularly in farm work, will be with his father and the older men.

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This fact colors greatly the relationship of father and son, as far as affective content goes. There is none of the close companionship and intimate sympathy which characterizes, at least ideally, the relationship in other groups. Where such exists, it is a matter for surprised comment to the small farmers. In its place there is developed, necessarily perhaps, a marked respect, expressing itself in the tabooing of many actions, such as smoking, drinking, and physical contact of any sort, which can be readily observed in any small farm family. Coupled with this is the lifelong subordination the retention of the name "boy" implies, which is never relaxed even in the one sphere in which farmer father and son can develop an intense community of interest – farm work. Nothing prevents the development of great mutual pride, the boy in his experienced and skillful mentor, tutor, and captain in work, and the man in a worthy and skillful successor and fellow workman, but on the other hand everything within the behavior developed in the rela-

593 tionship militates against the growth of close mutual sympathy.
[578] As a result, the antagonisms inherent in such a situation often break through very strongly when conflicts arise.

The division of labor in the masculine sphere between father and sons, then, is more than an arrangement in farm management. It is very directly part of the systems of controls, duties, and sentiments which make up the whole family life. The apprenticeship and the long subordination of the sons in farm work are reflections of the entirety of their relationship to parents; it is impossible to treat the two spheres of behavior separately.

Similarly, the relationships in farm work between the other members of the household cannot be treated separately.

593 On the other hand, the relationship of mother and son
561 has a very different content. Like that between father and
562 son, it is the product of years of development. It is marked, too, by a similar retention of subordinate status on the part of the son. In farm work the boy is subject to commands of his mother even when, fully adult, he has passed over exclusively to men's work. It is for this reason that many Irish farm widows with grown sons can successfully manage a farm for many years before they ultimately make it over upon a son's marriage, and from their restricted scope within the household and haggard effectively direct operations in the masculine sphere. In such cases, the woman retains control. Even in such an important matter as her son's eventual marriage she has a very dominant voice.

But within the scope of such a subordination there is a
593 quite different affective history. The relationship is the first and earliest into which a child enters. It is very close, intimate, and all-embracing for the first years of life; only gradually does the experience of the child expand to include brothers, sisters, and, last, the older male members of the household.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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Until seven, the child of either sex is the constant companion of its mother. If the family is numerous an elder child, usually a sister, may take over much of the mother's role, but the mother is always near-by. As the woman works in the house or fields, the child is kept by her side. In the house it usually sits in a crib by the fire or plays about on the floor, but always within sight and sound. It learns its speech from its mother, amid a flood of constant endearments, admonitions, and encouragements. The woman's work never separates her from the child. Custom imposes no restraints or interruptions in her solicitude. She looks after its comforts, gives it food, dresses it, etc. She constantly exercises restraints and controls over it, teaching it day by day in a thousand situations the elements of prudery, modesty, and good conduct. 593 855 [868] [867]

The controls she exercises are of a different kind from those of the father. She is both guide and companion. Her authority most often makes itself felt through praise, persuasion, and endearment. Only when a grave breach of discipline demands a restraining power greater than hers, or when an appeal to ultimate authority is needed, does the father begin to play his role. Especially in the years before puberty, the farm father enters the child's cognizance as a disciplinary force. The barriers of authority, respect, extra-household interests, and the imperatives of duty rather than of encouragement make it difficult for any intimacy to develop. 593 861

Even after Confirmation the child's relationship to his mother is not materially weakened. He becomes confirmed, it is true, in a masculine scorn for feminine interests and pursuits, but he can and must still look for protection to his mother against a too-arbitrary exercise of his father's power. In family disputes the mother takes a diplomatic, conciliatory role. From her intermediary position she can call upon the strongest ties between herself and her sons 593

593 to restore rifts in parental authority and filial submission.

Throughout the years of the son's full activity in the farm economy under the father's headship, the mother still remains the source of comfort and the preparer of food and is still infinitely solicitous of his welfare. It is only at marriage that the bond is broken and undergoes material transformation. If the child must leave the farm for other walks of life, the closest possible relationship is still maintained. When one goes home, it is to see one's mother. There is always an attempt to carry on a correspondence. In exile, the bond lingers as a profound sentimental nostalgia.

## CHAPTER IV

# *The Relations of Kindred*

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THE relations of the members of the farm family are best described in terms of the patterns which uniformity of habit and association build up. They are built up within the life of the farm household and its daily and yearly work. The relations of the fathers to sons and mothers to sons fall repeatedly into regular and expectable patterns of this kind that differ very little from farm to farm.

If we are to understand them, then, we must trace them out of this setting and see in what manner they offer us explanation of Irish rural behavior. In terms of a formal sociology, such as Simmel might give us, the position of the parents is one of extreme superordination, that of the children of extreme subordination. The retention of the names "boy" and "girl" reflects the latter position. Sociological adulthood has little to do with physiological adulthood. Age brings little change of modes of address and ways of treating and regarding one another in the relationships within the farm family. The relative positions of the parties must be stated in terms of the events taking place between them. These events run over the years and redefine relationships in their course. This kind of development characterizes and gives form to the family relations we have already detailed. We shall see now that it gives form to all of them and to the farm family itself.

The long years of intimate association in the act and

593 events of a common life build up very complete adaptations and very close emotional bonds among all those who share the life together. The bonds must be compatible; adjustment is made all round, again through gradual habituation. Otherwise conflict is ready to set off young against old, men against women, persons against one another. There is reciprocity of obligation and expectancy.

But the point of interest here is that it is the bonds that must be dealt with for understanding, not anything within them or the activities associated with them. Here there is an absolute coincidence of "social" and "economic" factors within single relationships. In the case of a small farmer and his son, there is only one relationship; to separate their social from their economic activities is meaningless. They are one in fact, and, as far as the peasants are concerned, they are one in name.

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554 Thus any of the words designating status in the relationship, such as father, son, owner, employee, heir, etc., might well be used, but in actual practice the first two of them are sufficient to cover all the activities of the relationship. Only the statuses of father and son are distinguished by the country people. These words are the only designations of status that are to be heard among them. All others are unnecessary. They are not part of the experience of the small farmers except as they become so when the outside world breaks in. Consequently, terms designating status are not to be understood or interpreted on a basis of *a priori* or philological meaning, but as references to the events in connection with which they were used.

593 Thus when it comes to understanding the force of such terms for the small farmers who use them, we are able to see why it is that the terms are emotional symbols of very great power. They are part of the peasant's own experience in the very relations we have been discussing, and they make definite and reinforce the relations for him. They cannot

be divorced from the patterns of relationships which they 593
symbolize, and their role cannot be understood except in the fact.

If then we turn back to the common life of the families of the small farmers, it is these very terms which give us the clue to the relationships which that life builds up.

In the Irish family, the sons and the daughters are equally 593
subordinate; there is no formal distinction made between 601
them. The kinship terms of both the English and the Irish languages reflect this equivalence of siblings. In either case, one term, son or *mac*, reflects the unity of the position of all male children, the procreated generation, from the point of view of the elder or procreant pair, the mother and father. Similarly, a single term in both languages, brother and *dearbhráthair*, expresses for the siblings their common occupancy of that position. Rural Ireland knows neither primogeniture nor junior right. Except as age differences separate them informally, the brothers occupy the same status both within and outside the family group. Thus neighbors and other outsiders refer to them all alike as "the boys" of the farmer's family.

Accordingly, their equality reflects itself in farm activity. 593
All are on an equal footing there. The brothers are all 628
alike under the father's direction and control as long as they remain on the farm. They work together, and the years of common effort and common dependence create a strong
solidarity between them. Though only one of them may [428]
ordinarily expect to inherit land and cattle, the others renounce their rights as it were in the interests of the identification of the family group with the land they work. The bloody faction fights which used to disfigure Irish country life have practically passed away, but the forces which brought them into existence still continue. Many a country fight involving a dispute over rights of way and water courses brings in the adherents of all the brothers of either

593 628 house, and, though the cases nowadays find their way into the courts, a very common defense is that the feud is very long-standing and that "the two grandfathers" began it. The tales written in the last century by William Carleton, who wrote of a life he himself knew intimately, describe faction fights in which whole parishes became involved, but the center of disturbance was invariably a family dispute in which the brothers of a family ranged with their friends against those of another. So fierce is the solidarity which the identification of brothers and their land calls forth that even today in Clare the name "defending Tim Flanagan's title" is jocularly given to forcible resistance to eviction, after a famous stalwart of the last century whose ten sons fought valiantly for their father's farm.

593 589 In fact, this emotional attachment is strong enough sometimes to preclude the breaking up of the family. Two instances of this sort came under the authors' special notice out of the many which occur. It is difficult to get the exact figures, since census materials deal only with the marital status of farm owners, but many of the bachelor-owned farms of Clare may be of this type. In the first case, two brothers and four sisters occupied a small holding of twenty-three acres and a four-room house for over fifty years. Several of them at various times had tried to break away; in fact, two brothers did, but the ones who stayed gave as their reason first that they hadn't wanted to leave the old people and afterwards that none of them had wanted "to be the first to leave." The second case was very similar. Two brothers and a sister had stayed on to work a small farm for their old parents, but, when the old couple died, none of them wanted to leave and each felt too old for marriage.

593 428 Whatever differences make a rift in this fraternal front are matters more of preparation for leaving the farm family than of internal differentiation in status and behavior. On most small farms only one son can be kept at home as suc-

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cessor to land and chattels. The family property, house, 428
stock, and land, descend to him intact. The other sons must be provided for elsewhere.

In choosing the son to remain upon the farm, the father has full power of decision. His interest lies in choosing among his sons the one he thinks will carry on most successfully. There is no rule or norm in the matter; and the brothers are united in expecting an adequate return for their years of service. But none of them may claim more than the other, and they are all dependent upon the father's sense of their fair deserts. In many cases there may be an early difference among them in the inclinations they show in adolescence. But the special position a brother occupies in this regard is a matter of agreement among them all and easy enough of adjustment.

Turning now to the other relationships neither fraternal 593
nor parental within the family, it is obvious that those among the females and between females and males build up in the same way as the ones we have already discussed.

The family makes a formal distinction between the female 593
members and their male fellow members in terminology, 601
just as it builds a dichotomy of behavior upon the sexual difference. Thus in the procreated generation daughter and sister, *inghean* and *deirbhshiúr*, correspond to son and brother; for the daughters occupy equivalent positions in a common subordination to the parents.

These terms express merely a classification of the female 593
individuals and their positions in the complex of reciprocal 861
relationships between family members. What has been said of the conditioning of the boy can be repeated of the girl, with, of course, a difference in the techniques acquired. And no less than in the boy's case, farm work is merely a part of the total adaptation the girl makes toward her fellows and toward the environment in which they live.

The work of the women is as important in farm economy

593 861 as the men's. The coincidence between family status and economic role holds for them as well. Women's work on the small farm is complementary to that of the men, as we have seen, though, of course, it is quite distinct. The young girl growing up on the small farm learns this, just as the young man acquires the masculine techniques. The girl is thrown constantly with the mother and the older women of the household. After she is seven, her pursuits differ completely from those of her brother and, except as she is in very close constant association within the household, she has no working contact with her father.

857 868 Many minor tasks fall to the girl as she grows up, particularly driving and milking the cows. Her conditioning prepares her to fill the role her mother occupies in the household. All the interior of the house, the immediate vicinity of courts and haggard where the fuel is stacked, the well, the poultry yard and sheds, are her concern. She learns to milk cows, feed the pig, tend the chickens, and look after all the young animals through helping the older women. She learns the lore of disposing of eggs, butter, and occasionally of some of the vegetable produce of the garden, potatoes and cabbage, and occasionally goes to market with her mother.

In the chief business of the women, the house itself, the preparation and serving of food and the repair and upkeep of clothing, she serves a never-ending daily apprenticeship. A young girl may often be delegated to look after the hearth, make and keep the fires going, etc. Only the mother makes small purchases of food and household goods. Only the mother bakes the great variety of breads. But by the time she leaves school, the girl may be proficient in these tasks too. So also with the butter making. Income derived from this and from poultry belongs to the older woman; the girl has no share until she herself has married.

000 In the past century (and in isolated regions still) most of

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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In the past century (and in isolated regions still) most of
the clothing of the small farmers was made at home by the 294
women. Now, however, it is nearly all shop-bought. Certain 461
vestiges of the former practice remain, however, in knitting 476
sweaters, gloves, socks, and scarfs; and in the country districts, at least of West and North Clare, there is a custom 178
which demands that some woman of the house be always at work. If there is no other task on hand, they must occupy themselves with knitting. In former days, the daughters of the community might gather in a *meitheal*, or coöperative work group, under the supervision of older women for carding and spinning flax and wool. In any event, the younger woman, the girl, is at the older woman's command.

Much the same content of emotion and sentiment exists 593
in this relationship, subordinate as the daughter must remain, as in the case of the boy. But in the case of the daughter there is never a readjustment, and there is never a period of community of interest with the father. Nor need the mother fear a competition with an impatient oncoming successor as must the farm father who knows he cannot put off forever his relinquishing his farm to his son. For, eagerly as the daughter may look forward to her own marriage, she knows that marriage will bring in a rivalry over household control with a totally new person in an entirely new scene. It is her husband's mother, not her own, to whom new adjustments must be made. The implication of this fact, and the struggle it entails, will bear examination in the discussion of marriage.

Still another relationship exists within the household under normal circumstances. The relationship of brother to sister has its reflection in farm work. But it is a relationship with a different history from the relationship between siblings of similar sex. Sexual differences in behavior have made a different habit, beginning very early in the child's experience. And, for each of them, the sexual differences are colored a great deal by the norms which mark the rela-

593 tionship of their parents. Thus there is a good deal of the boy's regard for his mother in his attitude toward his sister. Likewise for the sister, especially in the years when both are fully adult, the brother comes to have much of the position of the father, especially if he is older. He shares the masculine ultimate control of farm and household. If she remains on the farm after her brother's marriage, she must look to him for her dowry.

The country people have a good deal to say about the
strength of this bond. Deep-rooted in the years of common
subordination and common association, it survives the re-
[574] moval of the sister to another house and farm. It means
much visiting and a close relationship with the coming
children. The country people marvel that a young child
[604] may often like its mother's brother better than its "own
uncles." They mean thereby that the bond survives in equal
strength with that where the common patrilineal interests
of a common family name are in question, as in the case of
two brothers and their children.

589 That the complete family is the complete unit of life both
592 social and economic to the small farmer is admirably illus-
trated by the incomplete families of the countryside. By the term "incomplete" the authors indicate those many small farms which are worked by spinsters, bachelors, widowers, and widows.

589 In such farms, control is exercised by the person owning
592 the farm. A widow is usually helped out by a male rela-
562 tive, brother, nephew, or son. Here again the male devotes
himself to the tasks which in ordinary circumstances would fall to the father in a full family unit. The control over expenditure and the disposal of farm goods rests, however, with the woman. But even then the bargaining in such typically masculine enterprises as the cattle fair would be delegated by her to her helping relative. In one instance which came to the authors' notice a young widow called

her unmarried brother to live with her and directed his 589
efforts in draining a large field. The two of them ran the 592
farm very successfully, though the brother grumbled. In 562
another, a "landless" young man pleaded successfully to a [654]
Land Commission official for an addition to his aunt's holding, presented his case, and carried out the negotiations, but the final reference had to be made, of course, to the aunt for whom he worked, for in such case the feeling that the man must represent the family and farm unit in the community at large is sufficiently strong to push a subordinate "boy" into the position usually filled by the farm husband and father.

Similarly with several old bachelors. A nephew moves in 589
and works the farm, but the old fellow keeps strict control 592
even to regulating the nephew's expenditures for amusements. In one case, where a widower had a small son, the son was taken in by a childless sister and raised by her, and when he grew up and married he inherited the sister's farm. His father remarried and raised a second brood. In another, two spinsters spent their lives on a farm worked by their two cousins.

The attitudes of the country people to these arrangements 589
show that incomplete farm families are felt to be departures from the normal; they are subjects for commiseration. Such phrases as "It's a hard life she has with only the brother and no husband to help her" and "He's all by himself with only his son there on the land, poor fellow," are commonly applied to them.

The policy of the Land Commission in increasing farm 654
holdings is very significant in this regard. The officials 594
recognize the social value of the full family explicitly. According to the official in charge of land division in Clare, who has had successful experience in other regions as well:

> An old-age pensioner without family could not be considered for an addition of land, nor could a couple of spinsters. . . .

> 654 594 Where the question arises, a household consisting of father and mother and sons, rather than daughters alone, would have a prior claim. But, regarding the position of the wife, it is a fact that, if the husband goes, the wife keeps the farm up. She is the person who saves the money and governs everything.

Again:

> 594 462 Twenty to twenty-five acres of all-purpose land where the mother is normal and the father energetic is sufficient to keep a farmer and his family. It is the province of the mother to look after the fowl, the milk, the butter, the pigs, the calves, and the milking of the cows. A woman on a small farm can milk five cows in thirty minutes. She also takes care of the children, though she sometimes has a girl in to help her for a time. She also makes and repairs the clothes. She does the buying for the house and the husband only for feed, seed and fertilizer. She has the responsibility regarding medical attention, and where she has any showing of culture the family pushes on ahead. In fact, on the mother depends the organization of the family in all ways.

594 Such evidence points to a situation in which the immediate family of husband, wife, and children, the group basic to Irish society and especially to Irish rural life, carries on a corporate economy. The roles of the component individuals are assigned them by virtue of their position in the family. The character of the economic effort, its control, direction, and purposes, are part and parcel of the life of the social group.

476 Beyond the family economy of the small farm, there exists also a certain amount of coöperation in the Irish countryside among the small farmers. Agricultural labor upon the individual farms is not performed in isolated competition, but is permeated with a give-and-take of reciprocal aids. That coöperation takes the following forms:

> 1. Lending tools, or doing the work with one's own, for friends and neighbors who have not the requisite tools, especially in mowing, spring sowing, harrowing, ploughing.

2. Lending a boy at turf making, spring sowing, hay harvest, oats harvest, or driving cattle to a fair; that is, at any time that the farm needs an extra hand to get its work done quickly.
3. Of women: making up a tub of butter, or firkin of salted butter, thus pooling resources, the proceeds to be divided proportionately.
4. Of women: lending a girl on any occasion that an extra hand is needed in the household.
5. Helping at times of distress, or when one household is short or a crop delayed, with gifts of cattle, food, or labor.
6. Working together communally to get a harvest done, particularly the oats reaping and threshing. Here again the actual work is done by the "boys," who are lent by their fathers, though, of course, the latter may also take a hand, if necessary.
7. Obligations surrounding *rites de passage* and ceremonies.

In former days this coöperation was more widespread, according to the testimony of the older people. But even today the oats harvest, which used to be celebrated locally by a large dinner and dance at the expense of the farmer whose crop was being reaped by "friends" [1] and neighbors, still calls forth some coöperation of the next to last type.

In recent years the farmers have been wealthy enough to acquire their own horses, carts (called "cars," only two-wheeled vehicles being used, at least in Clare), and mowing machines. In the last century, however, these were less numerous and, as an older countryman put it: "Once if you had a horse and car, you'd have forty or fifty people helping you with the turf.

Similarly, before the mowing machine became general, ten or a dozen "friends" and neighbors would work each other's meadows in turn with the scythe. Nowadays, the owner of a machine need only go about to his "friends" and cut their hay for them, getting their aid in return in building his own stacks and hayricks.

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[1] Used here in the sense explained in Chapter V.

476 The commonest form of coöperation is that which involves
246 lending a boy to a "friend" whenever he is needed.
In order to illustrate this form of coöperation and to give
the setting in which it takes place, it will be well to describe
the hay harvest in a country district. We choose the district
[471] of Luogh. Luogh is a mountain region of small holdings,
none of them larger than twenty-five acres, divided among
twenty-four households. There was only one large farmer
in the immediate vicinity; he worked his lands through a
herdsman and, as he had his own hired hands, did not figure
in the haymaking. All the rest of the holders had what is
called "general purpose land" by the Land Commissioners;
they had some bog, some meadow, several fields being grazed
over, and a garden of potatoes, rye, cabbage, and oats, always
less than an acre in extent. The number of cattle each had
ranged from six cows, two calves, and two bullocks held by
one holder with sixteen acres of mountain land and an
addition about three miles off in fertile bottomland (he
had got this, eight acres, several years before from the Land
[737] Commission) to none. The person having no cattle was
an old bachelor, an old-age pensioner, who lived by himself
on a farm of four acres stocked only with a few hens.

476 The hay was early, the weather favorable, and the harvest
246 began in mid-July. All the holders except two were Luogh
621 people related by complicated ties of blood and ancestral
association to the land and to each other. There were three
589 lone bachelors, a widow helped by her brother, and three
widowers helped respectively by one son, three sons and a
daughter, and two sons. The other holders were married
couples with each a son or two and perhaps a daughter
present, if they were old, and many growing children if they
[167] were not. The region was one of large-scale emigration, so
that a smaller number of young people were present than is
476 perhaps usual.

246 As the hay ripened and the weather turned fine, the fami-

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1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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CUTTING TURF WITH THE SLÅN

476 lies began to save the hay, mowing it, letting it dry, and 246 stacking it as soon as possible, first into small grass cocks, then into the usual six to eight foot haycocks. After several weeks it would be moved into a single great hayrick in the haggard. There was a great deal of interest and much comment back and forth over the progress of the various families, the probable weather, and the yield of the various meadows. The men seemed to feel a general rivalry to do their work [407] well and quickly. About half the families had horse-drawn mowing machines. Those who had them mowed their own meadows as quickly as possible, working from earliest morning as long as light held. They worked with the aid of their sons and with that of boys from the families who had no machines of their own. At each subsequent stage of the harvesting, a boy or young man not a member of the family whose meadow was being worked could be seen giving his labor in aid; he took his place at meals during the day.

The mowing done, the farmer then took his machine to the farmer whose son had helped him and mowed the meadows belonging to his friend. In one instance a youngish farmer mowed the meadows of three others; in another, of two. Certain meadows were full-handed enough not to require extra hands, and in five cases no help was given, though the mowing and stacking took a very long time with them [589 in comparison to the others, and they were obviously short- 609] handed. Two of these were bachelors who lived alone, and two more were the "strangers." Two other families had insufficient meadow of their own and were forced to buy [437] hay on the so-called "conacre" system (buying the hay as it stands and reaping it oneself within a stipulated time).

Here then was an example of an important agricultural operation undertaken by the local community in which provision was made (except in five or six cases) for effective coöperation over and above the usual family economy. This is not an isolated instance; in Luogh it has been the practice

476 246 from time immemorial. Old people here remembered the day when, there being no mowing machines, scythes alone were used. Then the coöperating groups would have been larger and a more pronounced rotation of the working groups from meadow to meadow could have been observed. The same custom occurs in other places; in fact, during late July and August the entire small farm population of Clare can be seen at work. Given the different techniques, the same coöperation had taken place in Luogh and elsewhere at the turf cutting, the oats harvest, and the potato planting.

[464] Yet there was no monetary wage or payment involved. In the community of Luogh and surrounding townlands, the only hired labor was to be seen in the meadows of the large farmer (a cattleman with over three hundred acres), [184] who had not coöperated with the small farmers and whose entire way of life, as well as the agriculture he practiced, was different from theirs. Except in so far as the agricultural operation the small farmers were undertaking was economic in itself, it was evident that an interpretation of the incentives for this coöperation must include other factors.

476 246 602 Driven to social rather than economic explanation, the authors were able to ascertain that in each case of this coöperation there was an extended family relationship involved. Thus Carey, who had mowed the meadows of Dennis and Seamus Molony and Brian McMahon, was second cousin to them. Peter Barrett was first cousin and uncle respectively of the two farmers whose meadows he had mowed. The young men or boys who had worked Carey's and Barrett's meadows with the latter's wives and children were also relatives; they were sons of the relatives for whom Carey and Barrett had mowed.

So it went over the townland. In no instance, of course, had a man mowed for all his relatives; it was not necessary

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to do so. In one instance a man had mowed for a neighbor 476
who, while not a relative, was a great boon companion. 246
Furthermore, the bachelors whom no one had helped had, 602
of course, been able to help no one. And the two strangers [572]
who had moved into the townland, in one case fifty years
before, in the other thirty, had no relatives "on this side."
One of these was a man who had never got along with his [609]
neighbors, accused the whole townland of plotting against
him, and was cordially disliked in return. The other had
the help of a boy sent by a cousin in a near-by townland.

The generic term "cooring" is given to all non-monetary 476
coöperation of this sort in many parts of Clare. The word
is a direct borrowing from the Irish *comhair*, which is similarly 196
used, originally meaning cotillage, now having the 602
added meanings of alliance or partnership. But more interesting
was the fact that the small farmers explained their
cooring in terms of the "friendliness" of the place. So, we
shall see, the term "friendly" is applied to the extended
(and also immediate) relatives or "friends."

When asked especially why they were coöperating, the 476
farmers' answer was that they "had right to help." In general 577
terms they would phrase it that "you have right to help
friends," or again that "country people do be very friendly; 602
they always help one another."

Now the phrase "have right" is an expression in the brogue or English dialect spoken in Ireland (and in Clare) which, like "friendly," is a translation of a Gaelic idiom. It expresses an obligation, duty, or the traditional fitness of an act. The Gaelic word for which it is a substitute is *cóir*, and a bilingual countryman translates the Gaelic phrase *tá cóir orm* (the obligation is on me) into "I have right to." The countrymen of Clare, at least, do not ordinarily use or understand the phrase "I am right" to mean "what I have said is true." The countryman is explaining his economic acts in their traditional family setting as part of the reciproci-

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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476 577 602 ties of act, sentiment, and obligation which make up family relationships.

That he is doing so becomes evident when we find that the habitual, obligatorily performed acts toward extended relatives are similarly described, where the context is definitely not economic nor connected with agricultural labor. Thus in the townland where we examined agricultural coöperation there takes place the same lending of a boy or girl and the giving of a hand in aid at such festivals of social and family life as weddings, christenings, wakes, and funerals.

This aid is felt to be the same category. Thus one farmer speaking of another, his second cousin, could say:

> He is the best friend we ever had; we can make bold on him. When the children were little and our cow died on us, Johnny sent down a cow and calf worth twelve pounds to us and didn't want anything for it.

And in more general terms, another farmer could explain:

> Everybody's friends in the country here are very good to you. They lend you a horse with the hay or a boy going to the fair, or they send down to know if they can help when somebody dies with you.

476 577 602 764 Thus it is part of the "friendliness" for the relatives to make up and serve the food at wakes and weddings, to dig the grave for the dead, and to keen (wail) over the dead. The obligatory character and something of the reciprocities involved in such behavior are well expressed by one countryman who gave as his reason for going to a funeral (at a time when he was needed at home for farm work): "I have right to go (to the funeral of a second cousin); they always come over to this side."

476 577 602 Likewise, when in Luogh a man's wife died and his sister took over the child, she was praised for doing the "friendly" thing which she "had right" to do. In the very same terms a

man called upon his brother-in-law to lend him his son to 476
help drive his cattle to the fair. In a case similar to the last, 577
a violent quarrel arose because an uncle, who "had right" 602
to lend a son badly needed in doing some fence work, refused
to do so. And in the same scale of value a family 476
which did not attend the funeral of a relative was subjected 577
to great criticism for being "unfriendly."

In fact, failure to fulfill the pattern of conduct demanded 602
by extended family obligations leads often to punitive action 578
on the part of the aggrieved party. Near R— a small 626
farmer, who neglected his garden and forced his father-in-law to send up loads of potatoes for his wife's support, was finally beaten up one night in his own house by the irate in-laws. Ordinarily, of course, failure to fulfill such obligations either in directly social situations or in agricultural coöperation does not lead to such violent conflict, but rather to an estrangement. The niggardly "friend," especially the one who refuses or fails to return an obligation, is held up to general condemnation, not only by his kindred but by the whole community. The position of a small farmer near but not in Luogh was the result of such failure. He was regarded by all his neighbors and kindred as a "miser" and a "Jew" and on several occasions was accused of petty thefts by them, which perpetuated the breach. As a result he lived as a recluse, refusing even to visit others; in return he was not greeted by his "friends."

The obligations of this sort[2] extend to visiting and to 574
the hospitality which the Irish countryman deems so great 602
a virtue. "A sup of tea" and such food as eggs and bread is

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[2] The word *cóir* (a fit and traditional right or duty) corresponds almost exactly with the full range of the small farmer's obligations, as we have seen. It well reflects the farmer's habit in two other uses. The phrase *cóir mhaith* means good food. When the speaker says, *tá cóir mhaith agam ansud* (there's a good feed for me there), he refers not so much to the food itself as to the social situation in which he finds himself well provided for. And the term of address, *duine cóir* (worthy fellow), indicates that "worthiness" springs from a fit observance of one's obligations.

574 "put down before" the countryman who is traveling to
602 town or to the fair or who is merely making the evening
*cuaird*, or visit, at which the older men of the local com-
[521] munity gather round the hearth to chat and retell the old
stories of legend and folklore and discuss the news. Nig-
gardly treatment in this regard leads to disputes, as does
abuse of the privilege by the visitor. A standing joke in
[522] Luogh was the treatment given to her too-voracious rela-
tives there by a woman who exercised considerable ingenuity
in starving them out without offending them.

574 Similarly, the obligations extend to such occasions of
602 good fellowship and holiday as the fair day and market.
273 "Friends" treat one another at the local public houses on
meeting in town. Thus one countryman complained to the
authors that he dreaded the fair day, for he must drink up
all his profits with his "friends." Others are able to strike
a happier balance; and a religious pledge of teetotalism
likewise surmounts the difficulty.

241 The sum of the evidence presents the small farm economy
594 as a family situation in which economic effort, individual
182 and coöperative, is controlled by the social forces operative
within the family. Labor connected with agriculture is
merely one feature of a total constellation of behavior, enforced through obligations reciprocal in nature and maintained by sentiments and sanctions in a traditional setting.

## CHAPTER V

# *The Kinship System*

THE mothers and fathers who order farm life are 592
themselves sons and daughters. They have or have 593
had (before their creation of a family of their own upon the farm) much the same relationships with their parents as their children have with them. Indeed in many cases households comprise three generations. Grandfathers and grandmothers of the children live in the house. Family structure is not confined to the immediate present family group, but descends with each generation as the boys and girls reach social maturity at marriage and the creation of their own families.

This descent forms the basis of any kinship system; it pro- 601
vides also the basis upon which the "friends" to whom one
has obligations in rural Ireland are reckoned. The indi- 612
viduals comprised within the system are so because of their sharing of that descent in common. These are one's "people" or "friends," in the countryman's vocabulary.

The terms express the generic category into which the kindred fall. Both terms are, in a sense, translations of Gaelic idiom. The first, people, corresponds exactly with the Irish *muinntear*. The second in ordinary rural usage refers not to a comrade, as in English, but to one's relatives. Even in the towns, one's father, mother, brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, are referred to as "immediate friends." In the countryside one speaks of one's kinsmen as one's

601 "friends," particularly if they occupy one's own generation;
612 one's father's relatives, even his brothers, become "my father's friends." A "distant friend" refers not to distance in space but to that in cousinship.

612 Before we detail the individuals included within this
593 category, let us make two points clear. The first of these is directly associated with the dominance of the father within the family. He comes, as it were, to stand for the group which he heads; the farm is known by his name, and
[591] wife and children bear his name likewise. For the Irish family is patrilocal and patronymic, to use the technical
[611] terms. Farm, house, and most of the household goods descend from father to son with the patronym; we shall follow their general movement in a later section.

611 This patrilineal descent gives a certain accent upon the
612 kinship system; it chooses one line of descent out of the many possible and gives those who make it up a common name. There is a reflection of this fact in the groupings of Irish rural life. To outsiders a person may be known as "a boy of the Shannons" or a "man of the Flaherties," but in a sense these groupings are merely linguistic conveniences. For in many cases two families of Shannons may live side by side, yet not be considered "friends." None of the obligations of kinship bind them. For in the phrase of the countryman: "They are not the same Shannons or, if they are, they are too far out."

Our examination of the various ways of reckoning kinship will make the statement clear. Patriliny is merely one device, an extension of the father-son relationship, by which individuals are included in one's group of "friends."

593 A second observation upon the kinship system springs
582 from the fact that the family relationships regulate sexual conduct. Indeed, our examination of farm agriculture leads us to see that the technological training of the individual goes hand in hand with the sexual. Marriage prohibitions,

like the sanctions of the exercise of sexual rights in marriage, 593
are part of and take their form in the family group. Conse- 582
quently, in the wider and larger alignments of individuals
springing from the family which make up the kinship system, similar prohibitions occur.

For the kindred are the group within which marriage is 582
prohibited. In a sense the formulation of the individuals in
it as a group is an abstraction. Kinship bonds come ready 602
formed to the newborn human being. The child is soon 857
brought to know and adopt requisite behavior and sentiments toward the individuals with whom the other persons of his family are reciprocally bound.

Thus the Irish child very early meets his mother's and 602
father's brothers and sisters; he runs errands and receives
small gifts from them; as soon as he is able he carries presents. 431
In later years of boyhood he does odd jobs for them; 571
his labor is lent at cooring; he takes his place with them at 857
the family table or round the hearth on visiting. At various times of crisis in his career, such as First Communion, Confirmation, and marriage, he receives gifts from them which signalize the intimacy between him and them. They share his parent's superordination to him, for they belong to the same older generation as his parents.

He is very likely, too, to be thrown constantly with their 602
children, especially if they are substantially of the same age, 571
where his uncles and aunts remain within visiting distance.
In country regions, such as Luogh, nearly all of the families 857
are united by complicated, reduplicated bonds of marriage and descent. There the boys and girls grow up together in constant association, both as "friends" and companions. It is with them that the natural course of development creates bonds of sentiment and mutual aid, quite like those within the family, which take the form of that "friendliness" at once obligatory and pleasurable seen in the account of farm work.

602 571 Likewise, if such development of relations is carried a step higher, the brothers and sisters of the grandfather and grandmother, with their families down to the generation of the growing child himself, can retain an interest which springs out of the original brotherhood or sisterhood between them. The "friendliness," the give-and-take, the "welcome put down before" the individual, come quite naturally to the child at the hands of these relatives. His parents visit their own uncles and aunts, take occasional presents, lend them labor and so on. The child finds himself included; and he finds himself expected to adopt a similar intimacy of behavior with the children of these houses which he visits.

601 In the generation of the father, his father's brothers and mother's brothers are known as uncles; their sisters are known as aunts, both terms being the usual English classificatory ones. In both Irish and English among country people, however, descriptive terms seem to be preferred, though the English terms have been taken into the Irish as *aintín* and *uncail.* In the countryside these classificatory terms are still felt to be slightly foreign, and, as is always the case even within the immediate family relationship, kinship terms are seldom used in address. There is no distinction made between parents' siblings upon seniority. The terms niece and nephew exist, but are used by farmers only in legal contexts. Descriptive terms, such as brother's son, take their place.

In the direct line of ascent, parents' parents are "grandfather" and "grandmother" in English, according to sex, without reference to the sex of the immediate parent of the speaker. In Irish, terms correspond exactly: *seanathair* or *athair criona, seanmháthair* or *máthair criona.* In the direct line of descent, however, only the English terms for children's children, grandson and granddaughter, are classificatory and neglect the intervening child. The Irish terms are completely descriptive, specifying the sex of the child whose children are the grandchildren in question. They

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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are *mac mhic, mac inghine, inghean mhic, inghean inghine,* respectively (i.e., son's son, daughter's son, son's daughter, and daughter's daughter). 601

Father's and mother's siblings' children are called, as in English, cousins, or more specifically first cousins, a classificatory term without distinction in sex. The term, however, is never used as a term of address. In fact, "returned Yanks" who bring back the American usage of prefixing the word to the name of their "friends" in address are ridiculed. The word seems to be slightly foreign to the brogue. "Friend" is the usual designation, or a descriptive circumlocution is used both in Irish and English, such as "our fathers were brothers," or *clann na beirte dearbhráthar,* in which relationship is established by reference to an immediate family connection in the ascendant generation.

Irish terms for these relatives are various. The commonest is *col ceathair.* This term is interesting because it introduces the type of reckoning upon which the kinship system is built. *Col* is the term used to refer to blood relationship within which marriage is prohibited. By extension it refers to consanguinity and to an ecclesiastical impediment to marriage. Thus the phrase *cia an col atá agat leis* is used to ask, "What is the blood relationship you have with him?" and to go to the priest for a dispensation removing an impediment to marriage is known as *ceannach col* (buying *col*). Among the English-speaking countrymen of Clare the word "call," pronounced quite similarly, is likewise used to signify relationship. Thus one "friend" is said to "have a call on" another. Whether or not the words are one and the same we do not know; in any case the English word seems to refer both to the obligations and the blood relationship. 601 582

First cousins then are known in Irish as *col ceathair* or fourth *col* whenever the specific designation of these relatives is required. The choice of the numerical adjective is 601

601 presumably determined by counting the number of individuals or, better, personalities separated by reciprocal relations within which *col* or prohibitions arise. They are, for instance, myself, my father, my father's brother, and my father's brother's son. Here the accent upon the kinship system makes use of the two consanguine reciprocals within the immediate family: parent-child and sibling-sibling. Through the working of the principle of equivalence of siblings only two generations, my father's and my own, are considered. Thus the same reference to an immediate family relationship as we saw in such circumlocutions as "our fathers were brothers" is contained in the term.

601 Another set of terms exists in Irish for reckoning these
612 relatives. The authors have not heard it in use in Clare,
582 however. In it, first cousins are said to be *a dó a's a dó i ngaol*. The phrase means literally "two and two in blood relationship." Here accent is placed upon the lineal father-son (parent-child) descent, for brother and sister are called *a h-aon a's a h-aon i ngaol* — that is, "one and one." The reasoning here traces back to a common parent; in the latter case there is but one step, in the former, two.

The Church uses the system embodied in this last terminology in determining consanguinity. The following slightly abridged quotation indicates that it also recognizes a different system in Roman civil law.

> The civil (Roman) law founded its degrees in the number of generations. Thus between brothers there are two degrees, between first cousins there are four. [Compare *col ceathair.*] Canon law still follows this system in determining inheritance, but the Church for marriages computes, in the collateral line of consanguinity, one series only of generations, and if the series are unequal only the longer one. Hence, the principle of canon law is there are in the transverse or collateral line as many degrees of consanguinity as there are persons in the longer line counting the common stock or root.[1]

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[1] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article, "Consanguinity."

Thus brother and sister are in the first degree, uncle and 601
niece in the second, because niece is "two degrees from
grandfather." First cousins are likewise reckoned in the 612
second degree for the same reason. Here, as in the counting 582
*a dó a's a dó i ngaol*, the accent is upon the parent-child reciprocal. The Church calls this the *linea recta* of descent. It bases its prohibition of marriage (incest) in the *linea recta* upon divinely ordained natural law. No dispensations for this type of marriage are ever granted.[2]

Another system is perhaps commonest — at least in Clare, where the authors have met it on several occasions — among the methods used to determine kinship in order to maintain the bounds within which alliance is forbidden. It appears both in Irish and in English speech. The system reckons descent by "generations." The Irish phrase is to *réidhteach gaol* by counting *glúin*.[3] *Gaol*, we remember, is the word for blood relationship in general; *glúin* refers first to a knee joint, then by extension to a step in family descent, a generation. In this reckoning, first cousins, that is, parents' siblings' children, are said to be in the *tríumhadh glúin*, or, in English, "the third generation."

Here the accent is again upon two elements in the constellation of reciprocals within the immediate family: the parent-child reciprocal and the equivalence of siblings. By counting back to the common grandfather or grandmother the *gaol* or "blood" is determined through three generations, i.e., ego's, his father's, and his grandfather's. Each person in the line of descent seems to represent a generation. All so descended in ego's generation are "friends."

Still another system of reckoning cousinship may be contained in certain idiomatic terms for the cousins. The authors here rely only on the Irish language dictionaries, for they have not heard these terms used. First cousins are

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Cf. Canon O'Leary's *Mo Sgeul Féin*, where he has a chapter (*Mo Shinnsear*) in which he reckons his ancestry in these terms.

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designated in the phrase *tá siad i n-ó amháin*, which can only be translated in some such terms as "they are in the one grandson(ship)," for the word *ó* or *ua* was in ancient and medieval Irish the term for grandson and today seems to survive chiefly in the *O'* of surnames. This last idiomatic usage is merely a restatement of the reckoning by generations, and corresponds with English and Irish usage in explaining cousins by saying that they had the same grandfather.

All these systems of reckoning first cousins we have seen to be extensions outward of immediate family reciprocals to include the parents' siblings' children on the basis of their common descent with ego.

The process, however, does not stop there. For the descent is carried a step further back to a common great-grandparent. Marriage taboos and extended family obligations go backward and upward with the reckoning. Thus second cousins are recognized as being within the kindred and within the prohibited degrees. In fact, in the authors' experience the obligations of cooring and "friendliness" were equally strong with them.

To include these, all the various terminological reckonings of cousinship undergo an expansion. By the various terminologies, the group of kindred who are common descendants with ego of the same great-grandparent become *col seisear* (sixth *col*); relatives in the third degree (as reckoned by the Church); *a trí a's a trí i ngaol* (three and three); members of the *ceathradh glúin* or "fourth generation"; and lastly, in the idiomatic terms for cousinship, *ar a dá ó* (thus: in the second grandsonship).

The first of these terms, "sixth *col*," illustrates again the reckoning through counting the persons separated by reciprocal relations within which prohibitions arise. They are, for instance, patrilineally: ego (1), father (2), father's father (3), father's father's brother (4), father's father's brother's

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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son (5), and the last's son (6) who is again normally within ego's generation. By counting the common root, for instance, again patrilineally, father's father's father, four generations are counted together. These four explain the *ceathradh glúin*. . 601 612

Now both the Church and Irish rural society reckon descent bilaterally; all possible roots, male and female, are counted. In that case, the count gives thirty-two kinship personalities in ego's own generation who come within this group of first and second cousins. These can all be counted as cousins or "friends." They are within the range of *col* or marriage taboo. They make up the extended family whose behavior we have examined above. Of the thirty-two, only two (father's brother's son and father's father's brother's son's son) in ego's own generation bear the same patronym as he; but the total number of personalities within the system bearing ego's patronym is nine, if the immediate progenitors back to common great-grandfather are counted. [611]

Consanguinity is carried one step further by the Church. As a barrier to marriage, or diriment impediment, it extends to the "fourth degree." This includes the group taken from a common descent yet a generation higher. It brings in those relatives known in English as third cousins. 582 601 612

These include all those descendant from a common great-grand-grandparent, described in the various terminologies as "third cousins," *col ochtar* (eighth *col*), members of the *cúigeadh glúin* or fifth generation, or people *ar a trí ó*. As before, the emphasis in each of these terms is to link together all those kindred of one generation who have common descent. When all possible roots are taken into account, the personalities so linked ideally number 128. The total within the whole system, including those of all generations ascendant, bearing the same patronym as ego, is thirteen, and five contemporaneous generations are comprised. 601 612

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This last group is formed then by extension outward of the same principles found within the immediate family which determined the formation of the smaller ones of first and second cousins. Ego's descent from his parents is extended upward through the ascending generations and downward through his children to the descending generations. But ego and his siblings are equivalent in their relation to their parents. So, as the parent-child reciprocal is extended vertically, a lateral extension of the equivalence of the first siblings occurs concomitantly. In this way, an ever-widening circle of individuals are brought into reciprocal relationship with ego, expressed through their bearing a name in common, as his line of descent is traced further back. The marriage taboos within the immediate family follow the extensions both vertical and lateral.

Recapitulating, then, the relationships of ego with his kindred depend upon his place in the successive generations of descent through either male or female progenitors. The emphasis in the system is twofold. In the first instance, it places the individual within a given series of parent-child relationships, and in the second it establishes a commonalty between him and the other individuals who occupy the same place within that series. The structure of the restricted family functions identically; that of the extended family uses the same mechanisms to effect an integration of individuals upon a larger scale. The great proliferation of methods of describing this kinship system arises from a cause inherent in the system. All the terms we discussed are attempts to categorize the widening circles, lateral and vertical, of kindred; the desire to establish reciprocal terms to designate the members of the widening circles;[4] there is no need to particularize except in the horizontal and vertical lines.

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[4] The extension of sibling equivalence to embrace widely one's generation is further exemplified in the Irish terminology. *Bráthair*, the word etymologically cognate with *frater*, brother, is used to describe all kinsmen of one's generation;

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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When these two emphases upon the kinship system are recognized, it becomes evident why there is a lack of terms describing those individuals appearing above and below ego's generation but not in the direct line. In the direct line we do have such terms as grandfather, grandson, etc., but the others do not figure. They are not named except descriptively, and even then usually only in reference to the generation which they occupy. Thus father's father's brother is called "my grandfather's brother." The term granduncle exists, but it has not found its way into the countryman's vocabulary. 601 612

Similarly, though uncle, aunt, nephew, and niece have become fully acclimated to Ireland, there is still a marked preference for descriptive terms. The son of a cousin is described in such terms, and the immediate progenitors of the cousin are thought of in terms of their place in the precedent generation. They are thus "my father's friends," though they are, of course, within ego's kinship group. In this way, two distantly removed cousins can often establish a relationship and adopt the requisite behavior to one another through establishing a more immediate connection in a parental generation.

The bounds of the consanguine group are naturally not rigid in this type of extensional structure. There is a gradation of intensity in the taboo as it extends towards the peripheral relatives. First and second cousins, to use the more convenient English terms, are tabooed, the first more strongly than the second. Third cousins, felt to be "very far out" and sometimes "not counted" by the Irish, are nevertheless formally tabooed by the Church. Yet dispensations can be obtained with relative ease for kindred of this degree. They are granted for all alliances within the system for "cause" inward even as far as first cousins and uncles and nieces, but 612 582 582 588 612

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a different word, *dearbhráthair*, or "true-brother," is reserved for one's father's son.

612 never within the restricted family.[5] When the dispensation
582 of the Church is obtained, there is no feeling of horror at
588 such marriages. They are, however, always felt to be anomalous and are a matter of comment. In the country areas where there is a necessity among the farmers of keeping farms and dowries within the extended family group, or where the introduction of an outsider is difficult because of class and regional antagonisms, marriages between first and second cousins are not uncommon. Nevertheless the general feeling of the community condemns this type of union. Too close intermarriage of this type is a common charge used by townsmen in condemning the country folk. The authors unfortunately had little chance of observing such alliances in their rural setting.

582 At marriage the individual acquires a new group of kindred.
612 This group is also within the marriage prohibition and the "call"; they are "friends." In the formal or ideal
602 arrangement all those related to one's wife become related to oneself in the same degree. This is the view taken by the Catholic Church. A marriage, the doctrine goes, unites husband and wife as "one flesh." "Affinity from a true marriage is a diriment impediment to the fourth degree of consanguinity of the deceased spouse."[6] A widower "may not marry any of his deceased wife's blood relatives as far as the fourth degree of consanguinity."[7]

612 In other words, the union of man and woman brings a
835 union of the two extended families from the point of view of the marrying individuals. In the eyes of the Church, the
602 husband stands in the same relation to a wife's relatives as does the wife herself, and vice versa. So strong is this provision in the eyes of the Church that sexual intercourse with any of the wife's kin creates a barrier to the exercise of conjugal rights over the wife. A dispensation as well as

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[5] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, article, "Consanguinity."

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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absolution from the sin of adultery must be obtained before normal relations of husband and wife can be resumed. This is the effect of the infringement of the marriage taboo upon wife's relatives. 602 612 835

In a patrilineal, patrilocal structure, such as the Irish one, the wife is brought into the husband's family, given a place therein, and takes his patronym. Yet the inclusion is not complete, and, though a woman takes the husband's name, especially among the upper classes and at law, becomes the mistress of the husband's house, and in a thousand ways is oriented to her husband's group, her origin is never lost sight of. Her kindred are referred to as "my wife's friends," yet through the integration of the two families at marriage they become likewise "friends" of the husband. Kinship obligations extend to them. 591 602 612

From an internal point of view, however, marriage is a destruction of two former restricted families, in so far as two individuals leave them in order to form a new restricted family in which the individuals are husband and wife. Perhaps because of this disruptive effect on the paternal families, there is no provision made for a closer integration between them. No terms express the new relationship; the emphasis of relationship by affinity is restricted to the point of view of the marrying couple. Where the primary accent is upon vertical descent through blood kindred, there is little scope for a lateral rapport between the parental families of the marrying pair. 612 581 [601]

From the point of view of the marrying pair, however, an extension of kinship bonds is made. They are now one. Thus the immediate family of ego's wife are included in ego's kinship group. In the English terminology these relatives are called father-, mother-, brother-, sister-, son- "in-law." It must be noted that the terms brother-in-law and sister-in-law do not include wife or husband's siblings' spouses. The British and American usage extends the term 581 601 612

581 to them, but neither the Church nor the Irish farmers include
601 them within the kinship system. Marriage taboo,
which the Church calls diriment impediment, does not extend
612 to them. For this reason two brothers may marry two sisters under canon law, and a man his stepson's widow. There is no "blood" connection. For the same reason, the spouses of mother's and father's siblings, who are called uncles and aunts in American and British terminology, are not included in ego's group; "call" does not extend to them; they do not "belong" to ego.

581 The explanation of this exclusion of all relatives by
611 affinity except those brought in by ego's own individual
612 marriage lies in the concept of marriage uniting only the marrying individuals. For in the Irish system blood descent alone determines kinship: from the point of view of ego only those within a common system of blood descent are recognized as kin. Accordingly, on marrying, only those within a common system of descent with ego's wife become kin. Such a rigid adherence to the principle of descent does not prevent the development of very amicable and prescribed relations with such individuals as one's father's brother's wife. It merely excludes them from one's own kinship group.

601 The Irish terminology expresses the same reckoning of
612 affinity. The word *cleamhnas* covers both marriage and relationship by affinity. It also indicates a "match." The word *céile* is used both as an adverb with the sense of the English word "together" and as a noun meaning "mate."
601 *Céile* is the root of various expressions, such as *céilidheacht*,
612 referring to marriage. In Irish, father-in-law is called either
539 *athair cleamhna* or *athair chéile*, mother-in-law *máthair chéile*, as in the proverb:

> Bean mhic is máthair chéile,
> Mar chat agus luch ar aghaidh a céile

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(mother-in-law and daughter-in-law like cat and mouse together).

Similar terms are used for brother- and sister-in-law. But in both languages the tendency is again to use purely descriptive phrases analogous to those we found in designating blood kindred. Thus "my wife's brother" and "my wife's mother," etc., are much more often heard among the farmers, both in English and in Irish.

The Irish language, however, has a separate term for son-in-law. It is *cliamhan*, which is related to the word *cleamhnas*. It is the only nondescriptive term in general use, for daughter-in-law is rendered as "son's wife" (*bean mhic*) in Irish. It may be that the singling out of this relative among those united to one by affinity reflects the greater importance put upon males in a patrilineal system.

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The relatives by affinity just described include all those of the spouse's immediate family. The principle at work has been to coalesce ego's immediate or restricted kindred with his wife's. Beyond this group to whom the extension of the kinship behaviors is primary lies the total group of the wife's extended kindred. They are referred to as "my wife's friends"; there is a general tendency to extend kinship behavior to them; and they lie within the prohibited group. They are what might be expressed as potential kindred in the same sense that ego's third, fourth, and fifth cousins, their progenitors and descendants, are potential kindred. Should the need arise, the common descent may be remembered. At times of family crises, particularly at funerals, this sort of bond comes into active force.

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In this fact lies the peculiar character of a kinship system based upon extension rather than rigidity of form. The demarcations between the kindred groups of one individual and the next are not rigidly drawn. The individual can expand and contract the group outward from the restricted family to which he belongs. If he is important in the com-

612 munity, he can command the respect and the services of a
554 great number of kindred; it becomes an advantage to the
602 peripheral relatives to establish the reciprocals of behavior
which the system allows. On the other hand, if the individual is without personal importance, the scope of his actual integration through behavior to his kindred may be narrowed down to include only members of his immediate family.

612 It is the potentiality of extension and contraction within
602 the kinship group which is both praised and condemned in
such phrases as "A neighbor is nearer than a friend" and "The higher the man, the more people he has." If the individual attempts to rise above his fellows or to forget them in his way upward, the cry immediately rises that he is "forgetting his friends." In fact, disloyalty to one's kinship group is felt to be a deadly crime against the group.

596 The Irish extended family, combining in different de-
612 grees of intensity of solidarity all descendants of a common
ancestor through five contemporaneous generations, is not a rigidly defined structure set off from the other groups of society. On the contrary, the extended families present a picture of a series of interlocking pyramids in which each individual is assigned a definite place, but in which no two individuals (unless siblings) occupy quite the same place. It is a group of kindred reckoning common bilateral descent, and linking as equals all individuals occupying the same step within that descent to the number of five such steps, and including the corresponding group of the spouse's
[614] kindred. It is in no sense a clan or gens, as its bounds are
not constant, but descend and ascend through the total group of possible kindred. That is, an existing group resolves itself into a number of new ones, as descent proceeds from father to son. It is because of this that farmers having the same patronym and living side by side yet may not be "friends."

Through the workings in and out of the interlocking 582
series of pyramids mentioned above, an isolated area of small 601
population can soon become inextricably intertangled.
Hence in the poorest and most isolated regions we find the 612
greatest amount of intermarriage. Evidence is not definite 621
on this score, but the indications point in that direction. As
these have been generally the last regions to lose the Irish
language, it is there that we find the greatest proliferation
of terminologies whose purpose is to preserve the structure
and to determine the precise limits set for marriages. Marriages
under such conditions force a nice adjustment of
reduplicated kinship bonds. Dispensations are obtained [793]
under the conditions we have mentioned, and accordingly
the parish priest is made a party to every marriage, a great
extension of his authority.

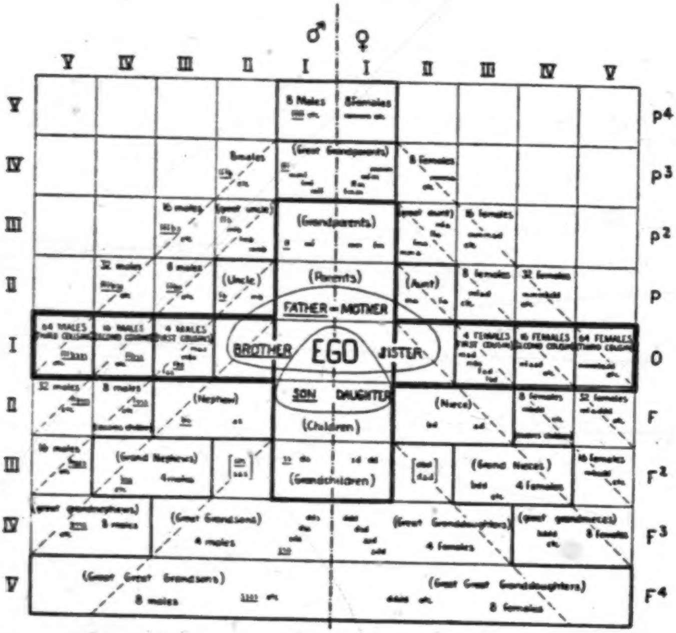
Through such intermingling, it very often happens that 602
a comparatively large area will be peopled entirely by individuals
standing within near degrees of kinship one to another. 612
In such a case the local group attains the added 621
solidarities of common kinship. To an outsider, such a
group, closely integrated through kinship bonds, occupying
the same general level of social stratification and the same
general place in the economic system, and dominating a
large or small area (sometimes as large as a parish), presents
a united front. It exhibits a very effective solidarity against [609]
outsiders. It is this solidarity which gives rise to the assumption
among outside observers that the clan still exists in
rural Ireland. It is this solidarity, too, which expresses itself
in the political cohesion of large sections of the countryside.

In the appended figure (Fig. 10) one can get a view of 612
this reckoning of descent within this kinship system as a 591
whole. The figure is arranged in block form and divided
between left and right by male and female sex. The generations 602
are numbered after the fashion of a checkerboard, and
each block or square represents a kinship personality. Each

612 square is contingent to that of its parent of the same sex
591 and to that of its child of the same sex. Thus the lines of
descent strike one's eye at a glance. The English terms adorn
602 each square, and small letters in each square give the abbreviation for the designation of the personalities whose place

Figure 10

KINSHIP AND DESCENT


♂
♀
V IV III II I I II III IV V
V IV III II I II III IV V
P4 P3 P2 P O F F2 F3 F4
8 Males
8 Females
(Great Grandparents)
8 males
8 females
16 males
(great uncle)
(Grandparents)
(great aunt)
16 females
32 males
8 males
(Uncle)
(Parents)
(Aunt)
8 females
32 females
FATHER — MOTHER
64 MALES THIRD COUSINS
16 MALES SECOND COUSINS
4 MALES FIRST COUSINS
BROTHER
EGO
SISTER
4 FEMALES FIRST COUSINS
16 FEMALES SECOND COUSINS
64 FEMALES THIRD COUSINS
32 males
8 males
(Nephew)
SON
DAUGHTER
(Niece)
8 females
32 females
(Children)
16 males
(Grand Nephews)
4 males
(Grandchildren)
(Grand Nieces)
4 females
16 females
(great grandnephews)
8 males
(Great Grandsons)
4 males
(Great Granddaughters)
4 females
(great grandnieces)
8 females
(Great Great Grandsons)
8 males
(Great Great Granddaughters)
8 females

the square represents and who are grouped together under a common term. A number is included which lists the number of personalities in all possible descent lines represented by the square.

Anyone interested in explaining to himself the Irish reckonings, such as for instance "fourth *col,*" need only count off the squares from ego.

The groups usually designated are shown within blocks united under heavier margins. Thus those grouped in double black margin across the whole diagram, taking in all the generation marked horizontally as I and O, are ego's "friends." They are members of his generation, united by common descent reckoned back five generations to common great-great-grandparent. 602 612

It goes without saying, of course, that, except for minor variations, this system is essentially that of all northern and western Europe. It is that of the United States. It is technically a descriptive, bilateral, patrilineal system. Like all kinship systems without exception throughout the whole world, it provides for reckoning in a common scheme nine generations, five of which must already occupy the past. Like all others, it represents a self-consistent system built up of the relationships within the immediate family. 602 612 171

## CHAPTER VI

# *Demography and Familism*

161 OF the demographic phenomena the small farmers present, the decline of population is most easily isolated. The facts are as follows: There has been [73] a continuous and characteristic decline since the great famine of 1845. Numbers have fallen from 6,548,000 in 1841 to 2,963,000 in 1926. With the exception of Dublin, the whole of the country has suffered in this decline. On the whole, however, the country districts have suffered at a greater rate than have the towns. In 1841, 80 per cent of the population was rural; today only 63 per cent. In other words, since 1841 there has been an almost continuous increase in the town population at the expense of the rural, though the two have shared a common decline. Put in terms of percentages: since 1841, the country districts have lost 64 per cent of their population, towns from 200 to 500 49 per cent, towns from 5,000 to 10,000 25 per cent, and towns other than Dublin over 10,000 13 per cent. Dublin, on the other hand, has gained 47 per cent. That the enormous [167] emigration associated with this decline is a matter of the contemporary generation is evident when it is recognized that 30 per cent of the native-born Irish were living in other countries in 1926.

161 171 The closest approach among European countries is the case of Norway, where 15 per cent live outside. Italy, which has provided so many citizens for the United States and the

Argentine, has only 4 per cent of its natives residing in 161
foreign countries. Since 1911 there has, however, been a
check in the decrease; only 5 per cent of the population was 171
lost between 1911 and 1926. The region of our investigation, County Clare, shares in this general loss, falling in population from 250,000 in 1841 to 95,000 in 1926. Since 1911 it has lost only 8 per cent.

As the statistics show, this loss of population is in the 161
main a problem of the country districts. The towns have
gained proportionately to the countryside; though in a lesser 167
degree, they have, of course, shared the common loss. Many causes for this decline have been operative and, as the excellent work by Dr. William Forbes Adams, *Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World,*[1] shows, emigration is no new factor in Irish life. The great impetus for an enormous exodus of population was the famine of 1845, but since then emigration has flowed on continuously, coming to an end only in 1932 when for the first time for at least a century more Irishmen returned than left the country.

But far from the famine's having started the emigration 167
from the present Free State, "the growth of emigration between 1815 and 1845," concludes Dr. Adams, "not only made possible the flight after the famine, it caused that flight. The thirty years before 1845 spread the emigrating spirit through all but the highest class until it became the favorite remedy for hard times. The tremendous rush of the next fifteen years could not have taken place without aid from the earlier emigrants." Since then, the land agitation, dissatisfaction with British rule, and periodic hard times have taken their toll, coupled with what Adams calls the greatest single cause of human migration, the work of powerful interests developed first in the early days of Irish emigration, "organizing and developing (immigrant) traffic for their own profit." The movement began long before

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[1] New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932.

167 the great burst of the fifties and has been continuous ever since.

167 Many attempts have been made to find causes for this
178 emigration. Perhaps the most successful have been those
241 dealing with economic factors. Among the most frequently suggested is the change in agriculture since the famine. The assumption advanced is that the change from tillage to livestock production has cut down the rural employment, which in turn has driven the rural population to emigrate. Undoubtedly, there has been a correlation, particularly in the earliest years and at the time of the land clearances after the famine. In fact, from 1847 to 1852 (the famine years) there was a huge decrease in the area under small holdings of 1–30 acres, a decrease of 1,395,000 acres, but since then, in the years from 1852 to 1909 (after which holdings began generally to be increased), the corresponding decrease was only 155,000 acres.

The Report on Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926, published by the Free State Department of Agriculture and Commerce, from which the figures are derived, comments that "this comparatively small transference of land from small holdings with high densities to larger holdings with low densities had but little effect upon reducing tillage or increasing livestock,"[2] the agricultural changes which are supposed to have affected emigration. The Report demonstrates that between 1854 and 1912 the smaller the holding, the larger the increases in densities of all livestock, except dry cattle two years old and over, and the larger the decrease in density of ploughed land.

In other words, the change in agriculture, whatever may have been its effect upon employment prospects for the small farmer outside his own farm, proceeded more rapidly on the small farms. The tables of the Report show that large farmers decreased their tillage at a more rapid rate than

[2] *Agricultural Statistics, 1847–1926*, p. xliii.

small farmers only in the periods of 1917 to 1926 and 1854 167
to 1874, while continuously over the whole period 1874 to 178
1926 small farmers "got out of tillage more rapidly than 241
large farmers." Too close appeal accordingly cannot be made to changes in agriculture for an understanding of Irish emigration.

In fact local densities of population do not now and never have shown a great deal of correspondence with densities of tillage. The highest percentage of agricultural land ploughed (29 per cent) was reached in 1851. Since then it has fallen steadily, to 13 per cent in 1926. Sweden comes nearest to this low percentage of tillage, with 52 per cent of her arable land tilled. Consequently, the Irish population was at no time solely dependent upon tillage crops.

Before 1881 a correlation could be drawn with some accuracy between the decrease in tillage and the decrease in rural population. Thus in poor law unions (administrative areas) in which ploughed land decreased population also decreased as shown in Table 1.[3]

TABLE 1
RELATION BETWEEN DECREASE IN PLOUGHED LAND AND DECREASE IN POPULATION

| Decrease in Ploughed Land (per cent) | Decrease in Population (per cent) |
|---|---|
| 0–20 | 13 |
| 20–30 | 26 |
| 30–40 | 28 |
| 50 and over | 34 |

But since 1881 similar tables show that there is no correspondence between the decreases, and that even those poor law unions in which tillage has increased show an ordinary loss of population. Consequently, decline in tillage had little effect upon emigration after 1881. This becomes even more evident when it is understood that in both 1854

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. lxi.

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and 1912 the thirteen counties densest in rural population included only six of the counties densest in ploughed land. "Dense tillage was in the east, dense rural population in the west," [4] as it still is.

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In the same search for economic causes, a better case has been made for the change from milch cattle to beef cattle production. As we have seen, milch cows are characteristically associated with the small farmers. During the period of emigration, the number of dry cattle has risen in proportion to the number of milch cattle almost steadily; the range is from 2,372 total cattle to the 1,000 milch cows in 1854, to 3,334 to the 1,000 in 1926; fluctuations have been very slight. It is true that the number of milch cattle has also risen steadily, if slowly. Such a change in actual numbers of cattle and in proportions of dry to milch cattle, the latter capable of yielding the greater amounts of food for farm consumption, may have had some effect upon the displacement of human beings by cattle, but certainly not a great enough one to determine the emigration. The lack of correspondence between these changes is evident when it is remembered that the change has taken place principally in the former tillage areas, and also that in 1926 the areas of greatest milch cow density were substantially the same as in 1854. The very little direct correspondence there can be is well exemplified in the contrast between County Clare, which fell from a population of 336 to the 1,000 acres of crop and pasture to 129, while milch cows remained practically the same in number (100 to 110 to the 1,000 acres), and County Mayo (a poorer region), where population fell only from 375 to 245 and milch cows also remained practically the same (90 to 100).

From these figures it is evident that the decline in rural population is not directly correlated with decline in tillage or change in cattle production. The failure of employment

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. lvi.

167 [178 231]

coincident upon that change cannot be assigned as the sole cause of emigration.

As the decline in population has been more characteristic of the small farmers, it may be possible to associate it with social conditions pertaining among that class. They have participated in the very agricultural changes which are thought to have caused their dispersal. They enjoyed the high prosperity of the closing decades of the last century, and won the progressive reforms of agrarian tenure. Yet they continued to send forth thousands of emigrants. Fluctuating economic conditions have undoubtedly had their effect, but factors whose greatest demonstrable result is merely to stay or hurry the stream of emigration cannot be evoked as efficient causes. In taking the problem directly to the small farmer, it will become possible to sketch the social setting in which emigration takes its form.

Clearly connected with the decline in population are other demographic statistics, particularly those of marriage. They present features which are unique among civilized peoples. Inasmuch as they are again indications of an underlying uniform social pattern whose occurrences they record, it is necessary to analyze them in terms of the behavior patterns of rural Ireland. Like emigration, they are more characteristic of the country people. Springing from marriage, they are thus directly indicative of social forces within the small farmers' family economy. 162

Briefly stated, they present the following characteristics: In Saorstat Eireann in 1926, according to the census then conducted, there was a larger proportion of unmarried persons of all ages than in any other country for which records are kept. Marriage, furthermore, did not take place until a comparatively late age. Thus 80 per cent of males between twenty-five and thirty years of age were unmarried in 1926, 62 per cent of males thirty to thirty-five, 50 per cent of males thirty-five to forty, and 26 per cent of males fifty-five to 162 582 589

162 582 589 sixty-five. The significance of these figures springs from their comparison with other countries. In the United States only 39 per cent of males twenty-five to thirty are unmarried, 24 per cent between thirty and thirty-five, and only 10 per cent between fifty-five and sixty-five. Denmark, an agricultural country similar in many ways to Ireland, had only 49 per cent, 25 per cent, 15 per cent, and 8 per cent of these age groups not yet benedict, respectively. In England the percentages were 45 per cent, 25 per cent, 16 per cent, and 10 per cent, a great contrast to the sister island. Indeed, in the Free State the percentages of unmarried among the males of each age group are usually double those of other countries.

Unmarried females are also very numerous, though not so excessively so as is the case with the males. In the age groups twenty-five to thirty, thirty to thirty-five, thirty-five to forty, and fifty-five to sixty-five the percentages are respectively 62 per cent, 42 per cent, 32 per cent, and 24 per cent. In Denmark the same groups showed only 39 per cent, 25 per cent, 19 per cent, and 14 per cent; in England, 41 per cent, 26 per cent, 20 per cent, and 15 per cent. Figure 11 gives a graphic comparison between the Irish Free State and three other modern countries.

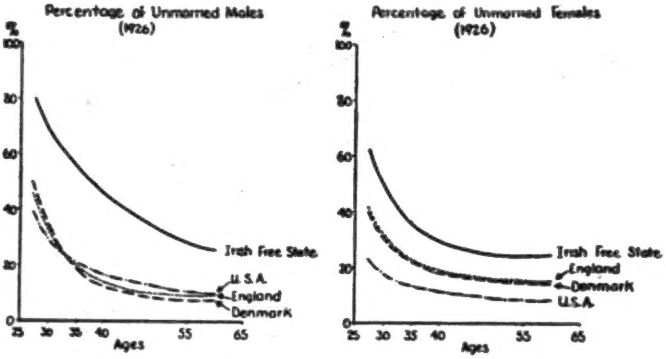
Later marriage and high incidence of bachelorhood is, like population decline, more pronounced among the country people. And among them, it is highest in those areas where small holdings prevail. In County Clare 88 per cent of the males between twenty-five and thirty in rural districts were unmarried. This percentage is not abnormally high for Ireland, as Sligo, Galway, Mayo, and Leitrim, areas of small holdings, have 90 per cent and Roscommon 91 per cent. In Clare 90 per cent of women between twenty and twenty-five were unmarried, yet six western counties have higher percentages than Clare's.

In fact the thickly populated and poorer western counties

show a higher percentage in all age groups of unmarried 162
than the eastern counties. In spite of this, however, there 589
is a higher percentage of all females in eastern than in 589
western counties. This fact is directly correlated with the difference in sexual ratio between eastern and western counties. In Dublin and the other large cities the female population exceeds the male, while in country districts and smaller towns there is a male excess. The proportion of females per thousand males is lower than that of any of the other twenty-one European countries. It is greater, however, than that of such new countries as the United States. There are 973 females to every 1,000 males in the Free State.

FIGURE 11

UNMARRIED PERSONS IN THE IRISH FREE STATE AND THREE OTHER COUNTRIES, 1926



If marriage is so long delayed and there are so few women relatively in the country districts, the condition in the towns is not quite so marked. Females outnumber the males there. Likewise marriage takes place much earlier. In County Clare the aggregate rural areas show 88 per cent of males twenty-five to thirty and 73 per cent thirty to thirty-five unmarried, but the aggregate town areas show only

162 582 589 70 per cent and 50 per cent. There is a general tendency: the larger the town, the earlier marriage takes place. Ennis, the largest town and county seat of Clare (6,000), has a somewhat lower percentage than is usual for towns of its size in Ireland. In fact, Clare's figures, 60 per cent and 30 per cent in those age grades, are better even than those for such a metropolis as Cork City, with 68 per cent and 40 per cent.

Correlations of occupation and marital status[5] support the assumption that the longest delay in marriage is found among the small farmers. Both agricultural laborers and town laborers marry younger and in greater numbers proportionately. No other occupational class, not even the professional class, delays marriage so long or has so many celibate members.

162 163 These facts obviously relate themselves to the population decline. They are, as it were, two different symptoms of the same condition. But strangely enough in a declining population, fecundity is very high. Although there are fewer married women of childbearing age per 1,000 inhabitants than in other countries (74 in Ireland, 142 in the United States, 125 in Germany, 112 in Denmark, 121 in England, and 119 in Italy), the fertility of these women is remarkably high. For every 100 married women under 45, there are 131 children under five years of age, compared with only 77 in the United States, 71 in England, 93 in Denmark, and 75 in Germany. The number of children is higher again in western counties of Ireland than in eastern. The women of Clare under 45 produced 140 children for every 100 married women, those of Donegal 152, but in County Dublin and County Wicklow, the two eastern counties, only 122 and 124. In spite of this great fecundity there is, however, in Ireland only a normal proportion of children under 15, if Ireland is compared to other countries. The

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[5] *Census of Population, 1926*, vol. V, part II: Ages and Conjugal Conditions.

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balance between high fertility and few and late marriages 163
keeps their number down.

The kernel of the problem lies,[1] of course, in the behavior 581
of the country people. Marriage brings both dispersal of the farm family and change of status for boys and girls. The marriage of one of the sons brings re-formation of the whole family group upon the farm. The crux of the matter lies in this reorganization of the farm family and the mechanism of the change and continuity it provides.

The nearly universal form of marriage in the Irish coun- 581
tryside unites transfer of economic control, land ownership, 584
reformation of family ties, advance in family and community status, and entrance into adult procreative sex life. It is a central focus of rural life, a universal turning point in individual histories. This form of marriage is known as matchmaking. It is the usual, in fact until recently the only respectable, method of marriage and usually too of inheritance.

In Figure 12 the reader will find a graphic representation of the description of the movement of the family and the re-formation of relations which the match involves and which is the burden of this chapter. It explains itself, and it gives a very good illustration of the generalities. Organicists should take heart at its resemblance to an amoeba expanding and budding. But the resemblance is accidental. The examples we cite come nearly all from County Clare, but literary references and interviewing in other places have been made to show that matchmaking prevails almost universally among small farmers with very little local modification. It is furthermore imbedded in the Irish (Gaelic) tongue and very old in Irish history.

A match (Gaelic, *cleamhnas*, marriage, and *spré*, a match) is a contractual marriage made by the parents or families of the marrying parties and involving the disposal of properties. Generally it begins with a farmer's casting round for a

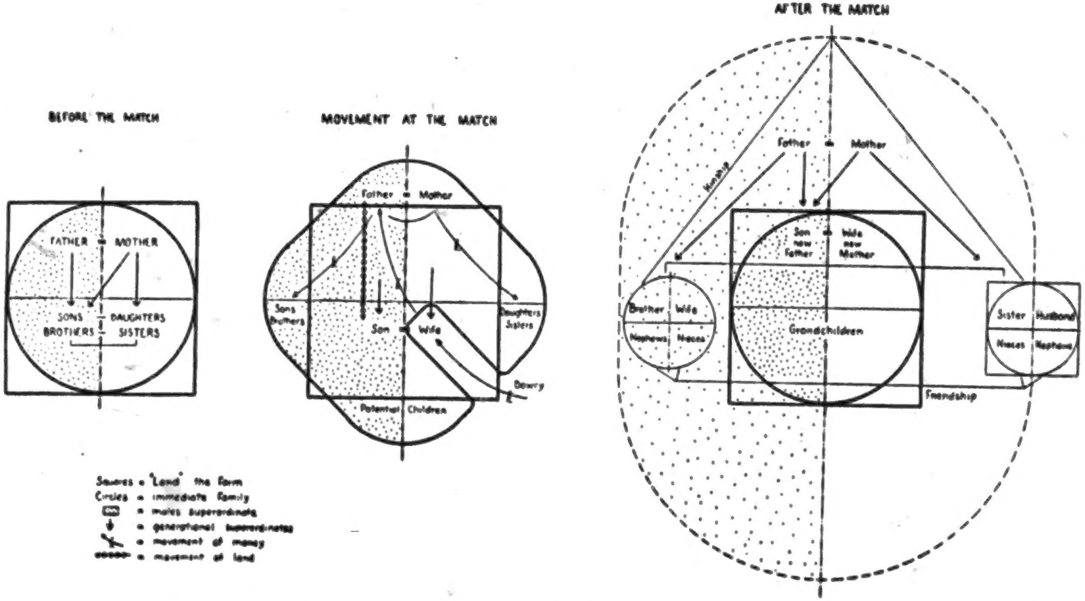
[1] [i.e., that of population decline.—Analyst]

581
584

FIGURE 12

THE MATCH
(FARM MARRIAGE)

[p.108]


BEFORE THE MATCH
FATHER = MOTHER
SONS — DAUGHTERS
BROTHERS — SISTERS
MOVEMENT AT THE MATCH
Father = Mother
£
Sons Brothers
Son = Wife
Daughters Sisters
Dowry
£
Potential Children
AFTER THE MATCH
Kinship
Father = Mother
Son new Father = Wife new Mother
Brother Wife
Nephews Nieces
Grandchildren
Sister Husband
Nieces Nephews
Friendship
Squares = "Land" the farm
Circles = immediate family
= males superordinate
= generational superordinates
= movement of money
= movement of land

Diagrammatic representation of the re-formation of farm families at the marriage of the heir. The diagram demonstrates the rearrangement of all the constituent relations between persons and the reëstablishment of the equilibrium of the familistic system.

suitable girl for one of his sons who is to inherit his farm. 581
The choice of the heir from among the sons rests in the 584
father's hands. Historically, all the sons and daughters were provided for on the land, and, where possible, this is still the ideal situation, but the closer identification of family with one particular plot of land and the difficulty of land division fostered through three generations of agrarian agitation and land reform have prevented this. One son, then, is ordinarily to be "settled on the land." Typically today only one son remains, and he gets the farm.

In the words of one countryman, the procedure would be: 583

> If I wanted to give my farm over to my son and I would be 584
> worth, say, two hundred pounds, I would know a fellow up the hill, for instance, that would be worth three hundred pounds. I would send up a neighbor fellow to him and ask him if he would like to join my family in marriage. If the fellow would send back word he would and the girl would say she was willing (and the usual courtesies were exchanged), then on a day they agreed on I and the fellow would meet in Ennistymon (the local market town) and talk over the whole thing as to terms, maybe sitting on it the whole day. Then, before, if it was land I didn't know or the fellow came from afar off, I would walk his land and look at it and the cattle there were on it to make sure of the farm. Then we would go to a solicitor that day and make up the writings in Ennistymon. The money, say three hundred pounds, would be paid over in cash or in promissory notes, and it is usual here to divide it into two parts or sometimes more. One-half is paid at the wedding, and the other is paid a year after.

This statement contains in essence nearly the whole of matchmaking. As the old fellow indicates, the initiative in the matter lies with the owner of the farm, usually the father of the boy. When the time comes for him to relinquish the farm, he lets it be known in the district to those who have daughters ready to be dowered. On the other hand, the father of the girl may often take the initiative, letting it be known that his daughter has a dowry at such and such a

583 figure. In either case, when a suitable boy or girl has been
584 found, the farmer sends an emissary to his or her parent. The relative value of the farms and the "fortune" that a farmer will give for his daughter are generally pretty well known in the district, but where the two families are comparative strangers, or belong to different localities, the role of the emissary in laying the proposals of one set of parents before the other is more important. The emissary is not a relative of either party ordinarily. Certain individuals become well known locally as successful negotiators. In former days there was once a fully developed "matchmaker" or marriage broker. The office is said to exist still in Connemara, but it has died out in Clare.

584 Quite often a well-known shopkeeper or local politician comes to play the role. One in particular in Ennistymon (a market town of 1,200) came under the author's notice. The back room of his public house reserved for special customers became one of the centers of local matchmaking. It was there that the fathers of both boy and girl would meet and "sit on the match." Their deliberation, to the accompaniment of many bottles of stout, threshes out the whole matter of the disposal of the properties involved,
[582] the relative status of the families, and any possible barriers to the union, such as consanguinity, insanity, or notorious crime in past ancestry.

584 The bargaining is a matter of nice adjustment between
583 the "fortune" and the farm. The custom known as "walking the land," referred to above, insures that the farm is roughly equivalent to the fortune, though each party strives for a higher valuation of its own claims. Thus, where a fortune of five hundred pounds has finally been agreed upon, the girl's father will have offered only four hundred and the boy's will have held out for six hundred, instancing all the prospects and advantages of his farm in support of his figure. Finally, through the offices of the intermediary

and after concessions on each side, the two will "split the 584
difference" and thus reach an agreement. The decision 583
rests with the fathers, but they will have had the quite vocal assistance of friends and older members of the kindred.

Perhaps the words of a countryman best describe the matching of values and prospects the bargaining entails. Farm and spouse are inextricably interwoven in his mind:

> When a young man is once on the lookout for a lady, it is put through his friends for to get a suitable woman for his wife. It all goes by friendship and friends and meeting at public houses. The young man sends a speaker to the young lady and the speaker will sound a note to know what fortune she has, will she suit, and will she marry this Shrove? She and her friends will inquire what kind of a man is he, is he nice and steady? If he suits, they tell the speaker to go ahead and draw it down. So then he goes back to the young man's house and arranges for them to meet in such a place on such a night and we will see about it. The speaker goes with the young man and his father that night, and they meet the father of the girl and his friends or maybe his son and son-in-law. The first drink is called by the young man, the second by the young lady's father. The young lady's father asks the speaker what fortune do he want. He asks him the place of how many cows, sheep, and horses it is. He asks what makings of a garden are in it; is there plenty of water or spring wells? Is it far from the road or on it? What kind of house is in it, slate or thatch? Are cabins good, are they slate or thatch? If it is too far in from the road, he won't take it. Backward places don't grow big fortunes. And he asks too is it near a chapel and the school or near town? If it is a nice place, near the road, and the place of eight cows, they are sure to ask three hundred and fifty pounds fortune. Then the young lady's father offers two hundred and fifty pounds. Then maybe the boy's father throws off fifty pounds. If the young lady's father still has two hundred and fifty pounds on it, the speaker divides the fifty pounds between them, so now it's two hundred and seventy-five. Then the young male says he is not willing to marry without three hundred pounds — but if she's a nice girl and a good housekeeper, he'll think of it. So there's another

584 drink by the young man, and then another by the young lady's
583 father, and so on with every second drink till they're near drunk. The speaker gets plenty and has a good day. After this, they appoint a place for the young people to see one another and be introduced. The young lady takes along her friends, and maybe another girl, and her brother and father and mother. The young man takes along his friends and the speaker. If they suit one another, they will then appoint a day to come and see the land. If they don't, no one will reflect on anybody, but they will say he or she doesn't suit. They do not say plainly what is wrong. The day before the girl's people come to see the land, geese are killed, the house is whitewashed, whiskey and porter bought. The cows get a feed early so as to look good; and maybe they get an extra cow in, if they want one. Then next day comes the walking of the land. The young man stays outside in the street, but he sends his best friend in to show the girl's father round, but sure the friend won't show him the bad points. If the girl's father likes the land, he returns, and there will be eating and drinking until night comes on them. Then they go to an attorney until the next day and get the writings between the two parties and get the father [boy's] to sign over the land. Then there comes another day to fit her for a ring. The girl and boy meet in town some day. He buys her some present. They walk the town that day and all admire the pair and gander after them.

584 Several instances have come to notice where agreement
583 was not reached and where a farmer has broken off negotia-
tions on finding a girl with fifty pounds more. There are
577 also many subterfuges which, though they are regarded by others as humorous occurrences, are often sore spots between the contracting parties. Thus a farmer near Ennistymon drove his neighbor's cows into his farm on the day of the girl's father's walking the land so that the other would think him richer than he was. After the marriage the deception was discovered, but too late.

[626] In another case, a sure penalty overtook a farmer who abused the bargaining system. I give the description of a neighbor:

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> He's nothing but an old blatherer, he was always sitting on 583
> matches and saying he would give a fellow his daughter when 577
> he hadn't any fortune on her at all. He'd break it off by saying 626
> the girl wasn't willing and all the time it was only boasting and drinking the porter he was.

Today the boaster is a local joke, and his daughter has fled to America.

A famous local character round Ennis, a laborer now 522
dead, once bested a countryman through a judicious whetting 584
of the farmer's cupidity at matchmaking. The story
goes that the laborer broke the countryman's bargaining 583
resistance by distracting his attention from the cow he was selling at the fair to the prospects of a match between the farmer and a purely fictitious sister, who was dowered with an equally fictitious three hundred pounds. Later when the farmer and his friends came to town again to discuss the matter further, the wit told them elaborately that, after making full inquiries, he had decided they belonged to too respectable a family to allow themselves to make a match with his sister, since the sister had already "a little one" out of wedlock.

Another case of subterfuge practiced illustrates a variation 584
in the match. A fellow near Ennistymon got a farmer with
a daughter to back his note at the local bank to the extent of 583
six hundred pounds. The borrowing was kept secret, and 577
the endorser does not seem to have known that the security offered was his own farm. Accordingly, when the borrower later offered to bring in the six hundred pounds in marrying the daughter, the farmer accepted, thinking he was to receive the fortune clear of debt. He discovered only too late that he had a son-in-law whose fortune he must make good himself. The deception led to bad blood between the two, but nothing could be done.

This last example illustrates a reversal of the usual procedure. 583
Ordinarily since the Irish farm family is both

583 patrilineal and patrilocal, the fortune is brought in by the girl and goes to the father of the boy. When, however, there is no male heir, the incoming son-in-law must give a fortune to the farm holder. Generally the man's fortune is much larger than that of the girl. It may be that the necessity for its being larger arises from the fact that he has no land of his own. Frequently the farm into which he marries is known for at least a generation longer by the name of the girl's family, which reflects the identification of the patrilineal line with a particular plot of land, so strong in rural Ireland. It may be that the additional payment is deemed necessary to overcome the anomaly felt at the reversal of the usual roles of sons and daughters. The Irish term for an in-marrying son-in-law is a graphic one; it is *cliamhan isteach* (literally, son-in-law going in).

583 A quite similar case illustrates not only the position of
584 the man marrying-in but the different aspirations which
may be involved. A local politician, a farmer himself, and
an automobile driver, a farmer's son, arranged a match for
a girl who had lately inherited a farm and a thriving shop
in a tiny country town. The prospective groom was a "returned
South African" who had brought back two thousand
pounds. At the last minute negotiations fell through because
[831] the young woman objected to the South African's
obesity. The driver was to have got a hundred pounds out
of it. We learned that several weeks later a second match
arranged for the South African turned out more successfully.

583 The "fortune" is a prerequisite of country marriages, even divorced from its usual family setting. Many instances can be cited where returned immigrants have come back with dowries made abroad, to marry into local farms. In three cases that the authors had under particular observation, the small farmers' daughters had spent five, eight, and ten years respectively in the United States as domestic servants. Each returned to Ireland with dowry enough to

permit her to marry into local farms, in two of the cases on 583
a somewhat better scale than the farms which they had left. The case of the South African shows how the man also may return with his fortune to establish himself in his native district after several years or even a decade or two of exile.

The dowry or marriage portion is, of course, a phenomenon universal in European peasant life. What gives it special interest here is its intimate connection with the farm family and with the land. That connection is evidenced particularly in the "writings."

After the "walking of the land" and the making of the 583
bargain, the two parties to marry go to a solicitor. There 584
the agreements reached are cast into proper legal form. The 428
"writings" is a legal instrument conveying the ownership
of the holding to the son. It is usually both marriage 888
settlement and will. On the event of the stipulated marriage, the father conveys the farm and all appurtenances to his son in return for the portion brought in by the girl. The father makes also definite provisions for his own maintenance and that of his wife. Generally, these include the right to the "grass of a cow," to food and the use of the hearth, perhaps the yield of one patch of potatoes, and the use of a room in the house. The room is nearly always, at least in West and North Clare, the one known as the "west room" for reasons we shall examine later. To take care of possible disputes arising out of the failure of these provisions to work smoothly, certain very hard-headed stipulations are often included, allowing for the conversion of these rights into cash support or a lump sum.

In return for the farm, the father receives the fortune 583
brought in by the girl and paid to him by her father. Fur- 428
thermore, the provisions which must be made for other children are often transferred with the land. The father is now expected to give (if he has not given them already) portions to those of his children who are not to be settled

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at home on the land. Where the will and marriage settlement are one and the same document, these obligations are passed on to the inheriting son.

The following description of several "writings" (which we examined) given by an Ennis solicitor specializing in this lucrative practice illustrates the type and the possibilities of variation. The solicitor is describing certain marriage settlements, the originals of which he held in his hand:

> In this settlement John F— of C— had one son and two daughters at home. He left the farm, you see, all that goes with it, to his son on condition of his marrying the girl named here in the deed. He also made the transfer subject to the son's providing for the two daughters by giving them rights of residence and keep in the house as long as they remain unmarried, and by making them special money gifts when they should marry. He then reserved a right for his wife, leaving her a small sum, and the right to the potato patch and her bedroom free of all charge as long as she lived. In the event of her not liking the new arrangements, she was to get a monthly stipend in lieu of her keep and room until she died.

We shall go on to give this interview in some detail to illustrate the full character of the arrangements made. The solicitor continues:

> If there are two sons . . . one of them gets the farm, and when the old people find a girl with a suitable fortune, and the son marries her, they give the money over to the next son, or they provide with it for the other children who haven't yet gone off. It's a pernicious system. [An upper-class person is speaking, not a farmer.] You'll go out to a small holding and see several able-bodied men and women waiting around doing nothing. They are waiting for the eldest son to get married and for their share of the fortune the wife brings in.

674 What may happen when such an arrangement fails to work smoothly for one reason or another may be seen from the following examples. The first is the description (recorded in the course of a general conversation, not elicited in any

way) of the circumstances leading to a murder which was 674 something of a *cause célèbre* in Ireland in 1932. The speaker is a superintendent of civic guards (the police) in charge of the area. It is instructive that the general marriage system is the same as that of Clare, though Roscommon was the county in which the murder (the Frank McDermott case) took place. The speaker began:

> The lawyer for the defense at the trial had tried to establish absence of motive. I went into the case thoroughly when the question of reprieve came up. I discovered that the father of the two brothers [accused and murdered man] left the farm to the elder brother with the understanding that he should pay off the younger brother the sum of two hundred pounds to set himself up elsewhere as the farm wasn't big enough for both. The sister was also to be married off with a dowry provided for in the will. But the brother was delicate; he had an asthmatic complaint, and he needed the services of his younger brother on the farm. The farm was paying badly, and there was no two hundred pounds to pay off the other with. In this way the younger brother had no place to turn and he was kept in virtual slavery. He tried to get married in the district, but he had no prospects. The elder brother was also trying to get married to bring in a dowry to pay off his brother and sister, but no girl would have him on account of his asthmatic complaint. In the end the younger fellow decided to take matters into his own hands. He borrowed a gun from his cousin, and went out to a field where he seems to have taken a practice shot, for he apparently had never used a revolver before. No one would have discovered the thing if the cousin hadn't become alarmed when his gun was found and it was thought that he was implicated. The younger brother lay in wait for the elder brother beside a gate leading into their farm. He shot him twice . . . at any rate he left the body where it fell with the revolver beside it, evidence of panicky behavior.

By citing this fratricide, the authors do not mean to indicate that failure of matchmaking leads to such violent conclusions; they mean merely to point out the provenance of the crime in a social situation arising from the family system

674 herein described. A case in County Clare in K—— parish[6] shows the same provenance of conflict in a disturbance of the traditional pattern. The following extract from the diary of one of the authors gives the setting of the dispute:

> 674 January 19th. K – District Court. Nothing much in court
> today but the following case: Two lads about nineteen were up
> 578 for having tarred the house of Tim Nihill, the publican, night
> before the last fair. This wasn't an isolated occurrence; attempts have been made to intimidate Nihill over a period of years. The guards agree he is himself a peaceable citizen. Both Mr. –, the justice, and Mr. –, the local superintendent of civic guards, agreed that the lads were only "tools of some one behind the scenes who is inciting them." The justice bound them over, gave them a stiff fine. Later he explained to me that a certain Mr. Mulvaney has been calling Nihill a land-grabber in the districts and setting the lads on him. Last year the house was fired into in the night. It all arises out of a farm which Nihill owns and which Mulvaney says ought to be his. Mulvaney is
> [583] landless now, only a farm laborer. His mother, who had the
> farm, was to have left it to him, but he made a runaway match with a servant girl and his mother wouldn't let them into the house. So she sold the farm to Nihill for cash and some debts outstanding and Mulvaney has been blackguarding Nihill ever since.

583 This story introduces the whole position of "runaway matches," as elopements are called. There are a few instances of coercion into matches. The autobiographic sketch of one Hannah M——, an old woman, the widow of a petty shopkeeper, illustrates the form which it can take. To paraphrase her:

> She is eighty-four, and guess how long she has been a widow, forty years. She's been behind the counter all the time. She has a sister in America with nine children. The sister sent her over her passage, but the family tore it up and married her here in Ennis. She wanted to be a teacher; the work was easy, the holidays (ample) and it was a good job. There were three candidates

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[6] Fictitious names for persons and smaller places have been substituted in this and following incidents.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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her year and she got first. At that time her sister sent over the passage money, and she was about to go when they stopped her and married her into this shop. Her sister was coming over before the marriage but her fiancé wouldn't let her go for fear someone would snatch her up too. 583

Ordinarily, as so many of the examples we have already given show, marriage in the matchmaking system is a matter of free agreement within the traditional setting. Love enters the situation, however, only to complicate it. A runaway match upsets the whole pattern, the interplay of dowries, land, and portions of it for children, the transition between adulthood and old age for the parental couple. There are other considerations, too, which account for the disturbance a runaway match creates, such as those of class involved in "marrying beneath" one, but they are outside our present subject. 583 581

The following story illustrates the case. A countryman is describing a happening in his district:

> Tom L— was making a match for his daughter with a fine farm of land, and they got as far as picking the gander [the name of a feast given by the bride's people slightly before the wedding]. They were all up there eating and drinking and dancing all night. Now a fellow from Ennistymon [town] came to it, but he was such an ordinary fellow he was not even invited into the front of the house but stayed in the kitchen. He was so poor and lazy, he brought a little turf to market sometimes, but that was all. Next day, the girl came down to the chapel to be married, and before they knew it, didn't she run off with this fellow. Tom cut her off and disowned her, and she's living in Limerick with her fellow now, but it might be in Australia for all Tom will do for her.

Even when matters have not gone so far, the runaway match causes a grave disturbance and destroys the cohesion of the family. The following account given by a publican in Ennis of country acquaintances shows that reconciliation occurs after a time, but that the disruptive effect upon the 583 578

583 family is severe. We give the statement in detail in order
578 to show the general situation as he saw it. He is a townsman,
and somewhat detached.

> The daughter on the farm has to wait till all the sons are got ready for their going off and maybe have been given their passage to America or money to set up in business or to settle on the land. But there are runaway matches all the time, they fall in love, they run off together, and they come in here and take work away from the laborers here. It takes a lot of love and courage because the son is usually cut off and the daughter leaves a very good place for nothing but a cabin and they get none of the money. Maybe after several years the girl will get her fortune, but not always. I remember Jerry N — whose father was very well off as farmers go, but he wouldn't marry the girl they picked for him and took up with a servant girl instead. He's driving a hackney now and lives in a cabin with a flock of children. Jimmy L — ran off but he gradually became reconciled with his people. The father had a good farm of sixty acres, and so had the girl, but the young fellow got nothing out of it. His father helps a little now, sending down a bag of potatoes.

602 Another case which the authors had under observation
from time to time illustrates not only the matchmaking
593 system but the general family setting in which marriage
578 takes place and farm life moves. Sanctions for conduct
627 aggrieving the families are applied by the families themselves. The case is long but worth quoting in the words of the teller for its comprehensive character:

> There was a girl of the O'Rourkes from D —, they have a farm out there and she married a fellow named Murphy up in C —. She was a school teacher out in England for several years and she became great with this fellow the farmer, and she used to send him money over from England for when they would get married. She sent about two hundred pounds in all. She has an aunt up in C — married up there and it was all the fault of the aunt. She came home and she hadn't yet told her people anything about it. She was just about ready to get married to the fellow and she told them that she was going to get married. They agreed. Then she said she was going to get married to

Murphy and they tried to argue her out of it, but she said it 602
was too far gone now and she was committed to marry him, so 593
they hastily gave her their blessing. He lived in a big house up 578
by C — and had sixty acres.

Well, he was a sort of uncouth kind of chap, rough, and she 627
was what you might say anglified, or citified. She wanted to
brighten up the house and make it nice and hang up curtains
and that sort of thing. He thought the reins of the horse would
do for the curtains and so on, and it came to a fight between
them, a clash of wills, and in the end, as it must, the stronger
one won out; that is, the man's. She got hysterical and he cast [158
round for ways of getting rid of her, and he sent up to Ennisty-
mon for the doctor to come down and examine her to commit 743]
her to the asylum. He didn't send her up to C — though that
was nearer and in his district, but he sent up for Dr. MacNulty
to Ennistymon, leaving Dr. Starr in C — so as to get someone
who wouldn't know the case.

The married sister of the wife was staying in the house at the time and he was driving her home. He told her the doctor was coming, and she said, "You are doing wrong," and made him turn round and go back to the house where Dr. MacNulty was examining the hysterical woman. Then the married sister got her brother and father to take her back to D —. They came up with Father Brendan of Ennis here and took her away down to D —. After a time they got up a party and invited him down for a reconciliation.

After a while she went back to live with him. He started it again and got her hysterical and called in another doctor, who said that there was nothing wrong with the woman.

One night the three brothers of the girl and her father came up to the house and one went round to the back door and the others went in the front and they caught the fellow. They were going to force him to sign receipts for the money the daughter gave him. Country people demand receipts for money they give and they are right, but the girl hadn't liked to ask and hadn't got any, so her people were going to step in and get them themselves. Murphy had rifled her belongings and torn off his name from all the receipts he had sent her to England. They came in and said that he was lucky he was going to escape with his life. No one in their family had ever been in the asylum and no one belonging to them had ever been insane or robbers.

602 and that he was trying to black them with the disgrace of it.
593 The girl ran in but they threw her out into the hall where her
father caught her and held her. They said that all the people
578 belonging to him were thieves, and that two of them, two
627 uncles of his, his mother's brothers, were convicted for robbery
and that all his people before him had been insane, and that he
was trying to black the name of a good family. In the end they
caught him and beat him till he consented to sign the receipts.
They gave him a good hiding.

The teller drew his own conclusions from the case:

> If the girl had listened to her parents, they would have told her all this and saved her. But she went on and married right ahead on her own advice. She probably thought she was doing well in marrying into sixty acres.

It is interesting that the application of sanctions does not confine itself to a single dereliction. In this case, according to the storyteller:

[461] Murphy was a terrible lazy farmer and wouldn't even till a patch of ground for a garden for himself or his stock, and the woman's people had to send up a load of potatoes for them. They told him when they beat him if he didn't turn into a farmer and do a man's work, till his garden, and provide, they would be up again and make him do it.

# CHAPTER VII

## *Family Transition at Marriage*

WITH the transfer of land at the marriage of the son who remains to work the farm, the relations of the members of the farm family to each other and to the farm they work undergo a drastic change. In the first place, the headship of the old couple under whom the family group worked undergoes change. The old couple relinquish the farm, they enter the age grade of the dying, and direction of the enterprise of the group passes from their hands to those of the young people. Something of the change has already been indicated in the "writings." From the point of view of the father, it means the abandonment of the ownership he has long enjoyed; from the point of view of the old woman it means she is no longer the "woman of the house." Her place is taken by the incoming daughter-in-law. Naturally, this change is accomplished in effect only with difficulty and with considerable reluctance upon the part of the old couple. Where the transition goes smoothly, father and son continue to work the farm together, but more often as the father grows older he retires to his seat by the hearth. For example, the authors know one family, consisting of a young man and his wife, their two children, and the old couple, which was regarded as a model of family harmony in the neighborhood. The young man did all the heavy work of the farm, but his father worked by his side. Yet the initiative in agricultural matters was clearly the

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[p. 123]

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young man's. The man, almost eighty, did not want to remain idle. "Time enough to sit by the fire in the winter," he would say. The greatest compliment the neighbors had for them was: "Look at the C——s. Old Johnny gives his boy a hand with everything. You wouldn't know which one has the farm."

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The coming-in of the daughter-in-law is sometimes not so harmonious. Disputes arise, as the provisions made in the "writings" indicate. The following quotation from an official with years of experience in dealing with country people illustrates:

> As years go on, either the parents die or, if they live sufficiently long, they receive the old-age pension. Before they are qualified for this, the farms have to be made over to a son or daughter. This is done on the occasion of the son's marriage. The father reserves to himself and his wife the use of a room and the freedom of the kitchen, and they are entitled to all their food. The points were carefully discussed at length in the process of matchmaking, and the family of the future wife had no hesitation in agreeing, realizing that such points formed the final phase of a cycle of life on the farm. If the daughter-in-law has been well and properly advised by her mother, she immediately on her arrival in the new house submits tactfully to all proposals of her mother-in-law and lets the old lady feel that she is still the master mariner. If she didn't, it would cause a lot of trouble, as sometimes happens.

[626] In such cases, the mediations of the parish priest and public opinion generally patch up a compromise, but, as far as the authors have observed, the transition is a gradual and successful one. The young woman usually serves a sort of apprenticeship at the hands of the mother-in-law in the new household, and at least during the young woman's childbearing years the older one maintains her control.

[577] An open breach between the two couples is universally condemned, of course; "turning the old people out on the

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side of the road" has occurred, although the authors found 888
no instance of it. If, however, the new family finds the old 606
too great a burden, the old may go to the County Home, 577
where the poor and derelict old people are maintained. A grave stigma of inability to support one's duties still attaches to this.

It is interesting that the old-age pension, originally de- 592
signed in Great Britain to support the aged members of 888
an industrial population and extended some years later to 737
Ireland, has been incorporated into Irish farm life without upsetting, but rather reinforcing, the matchmaking pattern. The tendency is now to turn the farm over to the son as soon as the father passes his seventieth year. Receipt of the pension facilitates the maintenance of the old people and hastens the transfer of land to the son, as the farmers must divest themselves of their small farms in the majority of cases in order to become eligible for the pension.

Even from the point of view of the household expense, the pension is very welcome. In the words of one farmer:

> To have old people in the house is a great blessing in these times because if you have one, it means ten bob a week and, if you have two, it means a pound a week coming into the house. You take a man like O'D – and every Friday he will go to Corrofin [town] to collect his ten bob and he may buy a couple of bottles of porter, but spend the rest on things for the house and then come home with a few shillings which will go into the common fund.
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> Not only that but it adds at least ten years to a man's life because the anticipation that each Friday he is to get ten shillings will cheer him up and keep him keen. Any house which has one old person is well off in the last few years, and, if there are two, it is a great blessing.

But the blessing the pension represents is more than an economic aid in bad times. It plays a great role in the transition the match brings about in family relationships. As one countrywoman phrased it:

592 There is no chance that the old people would give up the
land but for the pension, and there is no hurrying them. Before
888 the old-age pension the father would keep the fat of the land
737 and there would be argument between them, the young woman
578 and the old woman slashing each other with tongs, the doors
broke, and it would be two dwellings in the house, like, but
since the old-age pension, there are no rows and, if there are,
then they make it up with the old people for the ten bob a week.

592 If the transition is smooth, there need be no such violence
888 of dispute as the last quotation describes. Each of the members of the household must adopt a new role in relation to the others. The old man abdicates his controlling position with his transference of the farm to his son. Usually such a change goes smoothly enough. If the son can still seem to defer to superior experience and judgment and refer decisions to the old man, all goes well. The happiest compromise is that suggested in the statement of one countryman:

> Every morning, even after I was married, I would go to the old man and ask him what he thought I should do for the day, and the old man would say that it is now time to do this or that or that the cows should have something done for them or the garden should be prepared. I would go then and spend twenty to thirty minutes doing what the old man said, and then go about my own business.

592 It is in the feminine province of farm work and house-
606 hold control that the transition is most difficult. Under the patrilocal type of marriage here described, the bride is a stranger and of necessity cannot rely upon the experience of an association of years in order to meet the new conditions, as can father and son. In the graphic phrase of the people, she is the "new woman."

For her the transition brings a violent uprooting from prior attachments. Unlike her urban sister, she has little of the ideal of romantic love to help her over the crisis. Consequently her introduction into the new household is gradual, and her assumption of her new duties takes place over a moderately lengthy period. Two considerations, of course, are her primary inspiration in moments of stress: first, that she is now a fully adult woman with a household of her own although she must still share its control with her mother-in-law; and second, that the customary usage of the countryside provides her with an occasional escape back to her own people still on the farm at home. The following quotation expresses one woman's remembrance of her emotional difficulty. It is interesting that it is given expression most effectively in terms of Christmas, the family festival *par excellence* in Ireland: 592 606

> When I first came here, I didn't like it; I thought I couldn't stand living here, and I was always wanting to go home. I could go home, then, every fortnight. Now it doesn't matter so much and I go home about twice a year. I especially miss home at Christmas time because it is then that you miss those you always used to see, and Christmas doesn't seem right if they are not in it.

But for the bride, as for the old people, the transition brings forth a new behavior, and a new habit in her relationship with them. She must learn a nice balance between her new freedom and new full status and the continued control and the vested interest of her mother-in-law. It is a matter between the two women of the household; the father and son prefer to remain neutral witnesses to the process. The statement of one countryman illustrates well the possibilities and the type of new attitude and behavior the young woman must learn to make a satisfactory adjustment: 592 606 578

> When a marriage is made, an agreement is drawn up so that the man hands over to his son the land, but makes certain reservations. A new woman is brought into the house. The wife may have modern ideas and be "hoity-toity" about the way to do things, and the old woman and the new woman wouldn't get along. The old man without interfering would light his pipe and go out until the squabble was over.

592 It might get so bad that the old woman would get up and
606 leave and go live with her daughter. She would do this if the
578 mother of her daughter's husband were dead, even though the
father might still be living in the house. But squabbles are bad things and, if the new woman would ask the old persons their opinion and how to do this and that, there would never be any trouble and the new wife could go ahead and do just as she pleased and the old people would think that she was doing it the way that she said. The daughter-in-law, if she did what she ought, would do this and treat the old folks nice.

[521 The theme of strife between mother and daughter-in-law
522] is one dear to the hearts of the countrymen. It appears very
frequently in conversation and in jokes. If the family is to
continue its existence, the introduction of the new woman
[626] must be effected smoothly. The whole moral force of the
community as well as the interest of family harmony bear upon the two women. The fear of gossip in the neighborhood operates strongly to keep the young woman with her husband, and every family makes a strong attempt to hide its personal troubles as much as possible from the general knowledge of the community.

Nevertheless, stranger as the new woman may be, the norms of the community in ordinary cases demand that the young husband take the part of his wife. The bond between them is stronger than that between son and parent. As the quotation above shows, it is usually the mother who must leave. The country people deplore such an event, but they know that the son "has right" in so doing. Many statements of this attitude are to be heard among the small farmers and any examinations of cases of dispute which end in rupture show the attitude to be enforced in reality.

That this should be the case reflects the function of the marriage and matchmaking of the farm family. It provides for continuance.

592 The new position of the old couple and their desires in
888 the altered situation which has seen their displacement ex-

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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press this need for continuance. They are part of the pattern themselves. The statements of the blessings they bring to the farm family with their pension money are very elliptical assessments of their new place within the group.

In their new role, if the transition has been smooth, they retain, if not a dominance of control and direction of the group economic enterprise, at least a dominance of respect and prestige. They occupy a venerable and dignified place in the community and within the household. The sentiments of which they have been the object during the years of their son's youth and manhood undergo no change, even though their strict control relaxes and may disappear.

Likewise when, with the birth of the bride's children, the newly married couple begin to create a full farm family of their own, the old couple remain a part of the united group. They very soon become the objects of the children's love and respect, and enter into the complex of family relationship and family behavior which fashions the status of the children.

This new completion of the family pattern the countrymen express, as they do the reciprocities of kinship, in terms of help and aid to the economic unit of the farm. One countryman generalized as follows:

> When there are children in the house, the old people are a great help to the mother because the old woman would nurse the youngsters and see that they did not fall into the fire or something of that nature, and thus the woman can go about her business. The old woman would help while the old man would keep on at his work just as long as he was able, because it was in the nature of things that he had always done so. As they grew older, they might do some of the lighter work, but they would always help.

He went on to discuss the new relationships between family members and the modification of the immediate family behaviors which the presence of the old couple brings about.

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His shifting the topic from help to alignments within the family is entirely unconscious; it could not better illustrate the connection between work roles and reciprocal interaction in the family.

> If there was a squabble between the mother and daughter, the old woman would more than likely stand up for the daughter. She would teach her how to do things and would have more patience than the father.

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Quite as before in the case of the farm economy, the strength of the pattern reveals itself in the aberrant cases. Where there is no old couple to take up new status and position in the family group, others within the family of the older generation or even of the same may be forced into such a position.

Two cases came under the particular notice of the authors. In one an elder sister became to all intents and purposes the "old woman" in the house. A widow, she owned the farm, was in the "west room," and had the place at the hob. Her younger sister and her husband, who had married into the farm, managed the farm and knew that their children would inherit it. The elder sister helped a bit with the household, but spent much of her time before the fire. Both the man and woman of the house referred to her as "the old woman," a term of respect, and one of the authors, who lived in the house for a time, learned only after much intimacy the half-forgotten fact that she was not mother but sister to the younger woman. In the other case it was a father's sister who took up the role, the product of long substitution for a lost mother, and at the match the writings made provision for her.

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Intimately connected with the transition at marriage are all the phenomena of age grading so marked in Irish country life. The old couple advance one step in their course through life; they enter a new age grade.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
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Marriage transfers the boy into the adult farm-owning 581
man, the farm father into the old man; it brings the same
changes for the women. Such changes are, of course, not 885
abrupt; the groups which are substantially of the same age 886
do not undergo disruption with the movement of one of
their number from status of boy to that of man. But, on
the other hand, there are general patterns of behavior which
mark off these groupings in an informal manner, and which
betray their origin in a social valuation of age differences.

The behavior of the different age groups is of the most 561
intimate everyday kind, and consequently reflects those differentiations of status which are given formal and explicit
recognition at marriage. Felt to be too natural a part of
daily life to require explanation on the part of the farmers
themselves, their behavior, nevertheless, is very easily remarked by the observer. In the ordinary countryman's 561
house, for example, the man of the house and whatever older 574
men may be present occupy chairs drawn up before the 576
hearth. The hob by the fire belongs to the old couple by 517
right. The younger people, the sons and daughters, sit behind them round the room on other chairs or on the window seats of the rectangular kitchen, which makes up the principal room of the usual small farmer's house. This arrangement shows itself best in the *cuaird* or visit, where the old men of the district drop in on neighbors and "friends" to sit around the hearth together passing the evenings of winter in conversation, singing, discussing the news, and telling the old stories of legend and folklore. At the *cuaird* younger men and women, if they attend, sit behind, usually leaving the center of the stage to the old men, and the children stand up behind in silent admiration. The younger men have their own pursuits, of course, though at present the
divergence may be more marked than formerly. Lately, in [525
Clare at least, they have taken to card playing on a gambling
basis for stakes of small livestock in the country districts. 178]

561 571 794 When the whole population of a country district is on the move on Sunday, the groupings are especially noteworthy. There are occasional family groups driving in the jaunty car, but generally the older men walk in a group of their own, the older women in another. The young men walk together by themselves and the young women by themselves. On Sunday afternoons the young men can be seen at the nearest crossroad standing together in groups of ten to thirty, while the older men keep more to their houses or visit one another. Before mass, when the weather permits, the men congregate outside the church and do not move in until all the women have entered and the priest has arrived. As the groups stand outside waiting for the mass to begin and gossiping back and forth, the older men stand off together and the younger men keep to themselves. In wakes, weddings, christenings, the same age groupings are observed.

561 571 There is, of course, no formal prescription of such behavior nor formal taboo against its infringement; the conduct rather springs from the divisions of the family and the solidarity of the individuals occupying similar status as these forces operate in everyday life. It is evident how close a connection exists between age grading and marital status.

[561] 342 If behavior of this type reflects the age grading within the family and the transitions between age grades which are part of the transformation of the family at marriage, so does the arrangement of the house interior. For a graphic representation of this characteristic arrangement, let the reader return to Figure 9.[1] [565] The houses of the small farmers show a remarkable uniformity over great areas; it becomes at once apparent that the variations in house types and forms are more associable with differences of class than of locality. But as we are dealing only with the small farmer or peasant class, we need concern ourselves only with the implications of the striking uniformity in house form among the country people. Throughout West and North Clare the house is rectangular

[1] [see p. 34. -Analyst]

and consists ordinarily of a kitchen, occupying the greater 342
part of the rectangle, and a second room, behind the hearth and chimney which occupy most of one end of the kitchen. There are sometimes one or two bedrooms at the opposite end of the kitchen, in addition. In East Clare this type of house is common, but there is also a squarer type which may have a second story.

The tiny peasant cabins dating from the last century are of the West Clare type; they were and are single-gabled, rectangular blocks of one or two rooms, with steep, thatched roofs and a single half-door on each side. The half-doors open directly out of the kitchen, the one to the windward kept closed. The modern stone cottages erected by the [362]
governmental agencies and patterned after those built first by the Congested Districts Board (1893–1923) are slated and weatherproofed. Except for additional four rooms, they represent the same pattern. It is impossible to give a statistical statement of the occurrence of this type of house or to correlate its numbers with those of the small farm families, but housing records show that 36 per cent of Clare's population live in three-room dwellings, 24 per cent in four-room dwellings, and 12 per cent in two-room dwellings, which seems to point to a fairly close correspondence between the proportion of small farm population to total population.

In the small farmer's house of this type, the kitchen is 592
the seat of family life. In it are the hearth, at which cooking 352
is done, the table around which the family — first the adult
males, then the women and children — eat, the kitchen 353
utensils, and the religious shrine of the "Blessed Lamp" and [778]
the Sacred Heart picture before which the family prays the "Family Rosary" at night. Here also is the "dresser" found
in nearly every small farmer's house, a sideboard filled [415]
with fancy china and porcelain used only for family festivals and to give to marrying relatives. The family will part

592 with this china only under dire necessity. In many districts
352 the year's supply of home-cured bacon still hangs from the
353 rafters.

343 From the kitchen to the haggard, the farmyards, and cow sheds is but a step through one of the half-doors. There are found the sheds and outhouses where all the livestock, agricultural implements, carts, are kept and the fuel supply and the hayrick stand.

513 Sleeping arrangements reflect the age grading and the
sexual arrangements within the family. Children generally
561 occupy the "loft," a boarded attic covering from a quarter
562 to a half of the space under the peak of the roof. If space is restricted, they may also occupy the "settlebed" in the kitchen, or they may be divided up between the two on the basis of sex. Older children and the married couple will occupy the bedrooms.

353 The room, however, which we described as occupying
the part of the rectangle behind the hearth in the kitchen is
592 of especial interest. It may or may not be used as a bedroom. It is generally so used only when space is limited. But in this room all the objects of sentimental value (except the shrine and the dresser in the kitchen) are always kept: the religious pictures, the ceremonial objects brought in by the bride at marriage, and the bric-a-brac associated with the past members of the household. Where there is only one couple in the house, this room is reserved as a sort of parlor into which none but distinguished visitors are admitted.
[523] The family heirlooms are there, and, lining the walls along with religious pictures, there appear the photographs of the members of the family, especially the familiar daguerreotypes of the last century. Whatever "fine" pieces of furniture
[352] there may be, such as highboys, cabinets, brass candlesticks, are kept there, as are all the religious objects used when mass is celebrated in the house. All these objects are inalienable
[425] in the sense that the family parts with them only when it
[428] must. They descend from father to son with the house and
the farm on which it stands.

must. They descend from father to son with the house and 600
the farm on which it stands.

It is into this room that the old couple move upon the 592
son's marriage. They move in among the symbols of family 888
unity, among the religious symbols of the house, into surroundings of a certain religious or sacred character. If we can discover certain other indications of the nature of this room, we shall feel warranted in drawing conclusions as to the nature of the change which takes place in the status of the old couple and the attitudes which surround them.

This room we have described is the "west room" men- 592
tioned in the "writings." It is so literally. With remarkable 342
uniformity the small farmers' houses in West and North 775
Clare face east and west, the room behind the hearth being
generally at the west end of the house. Now the west room 888
and the western end of the house are associated in folklore with the "fairies" which still flourish in the countrymen's minds, especially among the older generation.

The Irish "fairies" include the spirits of the dead. In fact, the identity between the two is explicitly recognized. It was so at Luogh, where older men could name the "good people" with whom they had had encounters.

It is the west room and the western end of the house that the fairies frequent. Where a fairy path is believed to pass the house, it passes invariably along the western end of the house. The country people of Luogh and other parts of West Clare give this as the reason why no extensions, outhouses, sheds, or other structures are built on that side; bad luck would result. In Luogh none of the twenty-five houses of the townland had any structure of any sort built there. And it is often in this room that the fairies spend the night when they visit a house on their nocturnal travels. If we remember that the old people, relinquishing their adult status and preparing for death, move into this room amid heirlooms, religious pictures, and photographs of dead

592 342 775 888 members of the household, we are forced to postulate the sacred and semireligious nature of the attitudes surrounding the old couple and identifying them with the forces of the dead and the symbolic unity of the family, past and present.

581 842 606 183 The match is a mechanism, from one point of view, for preservation of family unity through the sequence of the generations. The dominant interest of the old couple in the "new woman" brings this point out most forcefully. They are vitally concerned in providing heirs for the line. Consequently their evaluation of the "new woman" is made upon the score of her fertility. Their desire is as strong as hers. She must have children.

The chief reflection of this fact is not to be found in economic expressions, frequent as they are. Children mean more hands for the working corporation. The farmers express their desire for them once again in terms of "help." But help might be obtained in other ways, for it can be hired. Rather it is the continuity of the human nexus which is the true goal. The fact that much of the relationship between the old couple and the "new woman" is built around her childbearing illustrates where the motivating interest lies.

606 842 183 The old couple appraise their daughter-in-law accordingly. The first year of the girl's new position is a time of apprenticeship. Work is light. Pregnancy is her major duty. All during her childbearing years the old woman aids her and helps her, praising her in terms of her increase and showing as great an interest in the arriving children as the mother. One countryman puts it as follows:

> This [a smooth relationship between the old couple and the new woman] carries on for seven or eight months, but, if then the old people do not see evidence of increase of young, then the boy's father's people get angry and abuse her, but if they do, they do not let her do any work and are so proud.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

Family and community alike support them in their attitude. A woman could say bitterly, for she was childless: 183 842

> No matter how much money you have and how good-looking you are, if you don't have children, you're no good. But if you're ugly as the worst and have children you are all right.

The husband has every right to express his displeasure at his wife's barrenness. To have no children is a source of shame to him and a terrible disappointment in his desire to continue his line upon the farm. One woman put it: 183 593 842

> The man wants children because he is afraid others will tell him he is no good if he hasn't any. Children are the curse of the country, especially if you haven't any.

In the country districts they say that he may beat her and in their graphic phrase "bounce a boot off her now and then for it." [195] Country belief still regards the woman as the offending partner in a childless marriage. Near Inagh one farmer, a returned Yankee, was regarded as an anomaly because, though childless, he treated his wife just as well as though she had many and did not get angry when he was twitted on his lack of an heir. They explained it by saying that he "knew it was his own fault."

The day of the "country divorce," as the farmers call it, is rapidly passing. In the old days, they say, a man might send a barren wife back to her parents, though Catholic law forbade him to marry again.. There are cases which illustrate that the custom survives in altered form. They are particularly revealing in our analysis of the desire to preserve the family unity and its identification with farm and household through the generations. Here the brothers act, sociologically, as a single individual in order to insure the desired continuity. For instance, in one case, a middling farmer of Corrofin, childless after several years, got a country divorce. He gave the land thereafter to his brother in return for a thousand pounds, which the brother had inherited in lieu 586 842

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842 of the farm on the stipulation that his brother should marry. The brother thus got wife, dowry, and farm; and the identity of land and family was preserved for a new generation.

428 Time and time again that continuity of identification lies at the root of the behavior which follows upon the trans-
592 ference of control within a family.

602 Particularly in the case of the incomplete farm families, a wide variety of arrangements appear to effect the same transition without going beyond the group. As the following generality explains, it is only the "crabbit" farmer who breaks through the circle of reciprocal obligation:

> If there is no heir to hold the land, they [the childless couple] might give it to a friend, the nearest to the husband, or the wife might give it to the nearest to her. The husband might take a boy from his brother or, if he's crabbit, he will sell it and go to town and drink the money.

But the second contingency that the wife might give the land to one of her kindred may be a source of trouble. The great emphasis upon patriliny militates against it. As the countrymen say, they "want to keep the name on the house; they are dying to have the same name on the house."

582 At any rate some of the matches between cousins arise,
836 consciously or not, because of this desire. And they occur here and there in country districts, even though the full weight of the Church's authority is against them. Countrymen on occasion have explained that they are love-matches. By impregnating the girl, the boy forces the priest to allow the marriage "for cause." Soberer opinion, nevertheless, condemns such action. It is no light thing to "destroy a girl's character."

592 There are many more subtle ways of effecting the same end. Nieces and nephews, even grandchildren, may be
562 brought into the house, and matches made for them. In
428 this regard a conflict arises between legal right and social custom. The country districts recognize only vaguely the

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right of a woman to hold property. The patrilineal identification 562
of family and land is incompatible with it. Whatever 428
farm a woman works or controls is regarded as a trust
for a son or brother of her husband or father.

The conflict is naturally never so phrased, nor is it ever 562
debated. Yet there are many instances which show behavior,
accepted fully as right and just by the local community, 768
which reveal the patrilineal identification. A widow, for 428
instance, remains upon the farm only if the children are 587
beginning to grow up. If they are very young, she returns
to her parents and a husband's brother may take the farm.
Even if she marries, she and her new husband merely hold
the land in trust. The new husband is, graphically, a
"stranger to the land."

As a "stranger" he has no right to it. In a village in mid- 587
Clare, to give an example, a "Yank" returned after many 428
years in the United States to his father's farm, from which
he and all his brothers had emigrated. His mother, now
dead, had married again, and her two children by her second
husband still worked the farm. D——, the "Yank," threw the
husband out into the road, told him to go home, and took
up the land. Later when he gave fortunes to both of the
children, the village felt he had made ample amends for the
stepfather's years of toil.

Whether or not there is a legally executed will, it is much the same. In Luogh, a son, inheriting a farm upon the death of his mother, allowed her old second husband to stay on with him. He was said to be "very kind to the old man." In Inagh again, though a small farmer, dying, willed the family's farm to his wife and children, a brother on a neighboring farm got most of the land. "He paid her nothing for it. He took bits of it here and there until it was all gone." Whatever protest there is must come from the growing nephews. Inagh makes none.

In matchmaking, too, legal form may be subordinated to 590

In matchmaking, too, legal form may be subordinated to

583 country-bred aspirations. To insist upon the full letter of
842 the contract, even if its purpose is not fulfilled, is meanness. It is a breach of social convention, even though quite within legal right. For the "writings" is a formal legal instrument nowadays. Not all the farmers have gone so far in safeguarding himself as one F—— in Inagh did. "He put it in the writings that he would pay the last half when his daughter was safe delivered," so we were told. For the provisions of the match reflect again the identifying continuity and the importance to all parties of the girl's bearing children for the family into which she marries. Most often the second instalment of the fortune is not paid until the first child is born, or, with more legal formality, till a year after the marriage contract is completed. One informant summed the matter up:

> 583 If the woman dies after a year and the first part of the fortune
> 768 is paid, the man doesn't usually claim the rest, although he may be mean enough to claim it. For the young man can marry again. If the man dies, the girl is given the money if there is no heir and is sent home. If there is, then she gets the place.

583 Let us reëxamine the dowry in the light of this complexity of interrelated factors. As has been explained, the fortune goes to the farm owner, in ordinary cases the father of the boy. At the match, land, house, cattle, and household effects move from father to son just as kinship relationships move and as adult status moves. One family, that of the old couple in which the son was merely one of the children, is partially destroyed in order to make way for a new one, in which the son and the incoming wife are now the adult married couple. The movement of goods corresponds to social forces. And the fortune brought in by the new wife moves from her father to the boy's as if to recompense the father for his loss of the farm. It is significant that the fortune is paid always in money. Try as we might, we never found it paid in any other way. Land, cattle, and household effects

are not used but are inalienably associated with the family. 583
This is a new development. In Carleton's day, before the famine, a daughter was often dowered with goods as well. Today this is not the case, for the goods like the land are part of an indivisible and corporate whole.

In this way, when we remember that the farm is identified in popular thinking with the patrilineal and patronymic family line of the landowner and that the girl is an outsider brought into that group, the money appears as a payment for the girl's inclusion. There is significantly no corresponding recompense or payment to the girl's father. He loses both daughter and dowry. The identification of his family, both immediate and ancestral, with the family farm is undisturbed. Of course the father of the girl makes sure that his prestige does not suffer. He demands that the farm she enters shall at least equal the dowry. The size of the dowry [554]
he gives his daughter is a very strong index of that prestige. It is both a duty and a great source of pride to provide well for her.

A further indication of the nature of the movement of 583
the dowry is to be found in the terminological (formal) 602
structure of the family which we have already described. It will be remembered that there was no integration between the boy's father and the girl's, and that relationship by affinity proceeded only from the point of view of the young couple. The two fathers-in-law or mothers-in-law are not felt to be related. No kinship terms express the new connection between them. Clearly, then, we have two patrilineal groups still unmerged, still distinct. That this is the case 578
can be seen in Carleton's[1] descriptions of faction fights in 583
which two families are often pitched against one another in 602
spite of their alliance by marriage. The authors have seen some of them, not on the scale of faction fights, it is true,

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[1] William Carleton, peasant novelist (1794–1869), principally *Tales and Sketches* (Dublin: J. Duffy, 1845) and *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (10th complete ed.; London: W. Tegg, 1864).

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602 but ones in which brothers-in-law flared up to strike one another even though after a week or so the two connections became reconciled.

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583 Up to this point we have failed to distinguish between wills and marriage settlements in the statement of matchmaking and transfer of farms. The confusion is justified because in so many cases they are one and the same. Nevertheless, the subject of wills made apart from the son's marriage needs discussion. If our conclusions as to the nature of farm marriage are valid, something of the same play of changes, obligations, and goods must be present.

Money in the dowry functions to recompense the farmer for his relinquishment of the farm and the break-up of the family which he headed. Similarly, in the cases where inheritance proceeds without marriage, money plays the same role. There are many instances in which the old farmer has demanded payment for the property his heir is to receive. Let an Ennis solicitor describe his experience with one of them:

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> I remember an old fellow, Jimmy B — of K — who was taken off dying to the County Home. He called for me to go out there and make a will for him. Seven wills I made for that old codger before he was through. He hadn't any idea of dying. He had only ten or fifteen acres of a farm, but he said he would give it to his son [only] if the son paid him ten pounds a year for it. They often do that, make the son pay from ten pounds to fifty pounds a year for the land. Then [when the solicitor pointed out that the son would inherit the money anyway as the old fellow had no other heirs], old Jimmy made me make another will leaving the money itself to the son.

Another case the authors knew involved no son. The old fellow left a small farm to his cousin and even though he was on the verge of dying, he forced the cousin to pay for it.

In still another instance, an old fellow had some land and about two hundred and fifty pounds to give away. He gave

the money in a will, but insisted the son pay for the land. 428
After that, there was a cow and a calf left over, which he 763
reserved for himself. When he called in a solicitor to make another will disposing of the cow and calf, this time, as he lay dying in the County Home, the nun in charge said he had been awake all night mumbling to himself about the cow and calf. The solicitor and the nun finally got him to leave the money for masses.

These cases show the hold of the pattern of receiving 428
money for the transfer of family property. It must be understood that under ordinary circumstances the payment the son had to make would be devoted to the other children, as is the dowry. But in these cases the pattern persisted though there were no other children.

Another case occurred in which a farmer named Patrick [429]
N— left money, farm, and everything he had to his nephew Michael in trusteeship to be given to him upon his marriage with the trustee's approval. Here no money was demanded, but another common feature of countrymen's wills was involved which throws light on the general family situation. The old man had other nephews who had given him a hand from time to time in fulfillment of the agricultural pattern. By mischance they discovered the content of the will, called their uncle an "old fraud" and a "robber," and stopped working for him. A generous move on the part of Michael prevented further bad blood.

English law of property gives the owner full right to dispose at will of farm and other real property as personal chattels. That right is, of course, embodied in Irish legal practice. But the situation underlying the Irish farm life is otherwise. In the first cases cited, we see a tendency to enforce payment for the farm, analogous to the dowry. In the last case, the basis for that tendency is the expectation of provision on the part of the family members. With the transfer of the farm and the break of the family at either

428 the match or death, the other members of the family must be provided for.

(It may be for this reason, the conflict between legal right and social obligation, that so many countrymen's wills are drawn up in elaborate secrecy, the solicitor creeping out in the dead of night to a lightless cottage in the bogs somewhere to make a will for an old fellow who for one reason or another refuses to fulfill obligations, real or fancied, to his kindred and neighbors. The authors had frequent descriptions of this from solicitors and townsmen to whom the piquancy of the situation appealed, but obtained none, unfortunately, from the countryman's point of view. They did receive accounts from countrymen of their attempts to conceal their visits to solicitors in town.)

Even in these cases in which the usual sequence of events is upset or changed through special circumstances, the same concern for rebuilding and changing the family relationships in a certain definite manner appears. The dowry, like the rest of the behavior at the match, is understandable only in such terms. Even, as in the case of wills of the kind just reported, where transfer of land alone is involved, the same concern is present. That is, the match is here by implication, if nothing else, and the mechanism of social change it provides is at work even *in absentia*.

## CHAPTER VIII

## *Dispersal and Emigration*

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THE internal reorganization of the family consequent 593
on the marriage of one of their number produces 578
a marked change in the situation of the as yet unprovided-for brothers and sisters. The other members of the family broken up by the marriage of one of their number on the home farm must be provided for elsewhere. They feel themselves entitled to portions, either in the form of dowries to marry into another farm or of some other means of establishing themselves. If such provisions in fact are not made, conflict arises, as we saw in the case of the McDermott murder. A classical case in the Ennis region of Clare was [587]
that of an old farmer of substance who married a nineteen-year-old girl when he was eighty. When the birth of a son precipitated a crisis, he had to be protected from his scandalized relatives, sons, and daughters by the police. When he died the following year, he gave a hundred pounds each to the constable who protected him and the priest "plucky enough to marry me." His sons refused to attend his funeral.

Normally, however, the transfer of land and the break-up 593
of the family which worked it is made with the fullest pos- 428
sible provision for the other children. The dowry brought in is utilized to that end, and the savings of a lifetime on the farm have been used. The following observations made by a Land Commission official, himself a small farmer's son

593 and a man with many years' experience in Irish rural affairs,
428 attempt to give a statement of the generalities. They ex-
press, however, an ideal rather than an actuality.

> The average household consists of six persons [and the parents]. Of necessity not more than one could be provided for on the holding and assuming, for example, that the family consisted of two girls and four boys, the position would be somewhat as follows:
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> 593 The eldest son would in the course of years assume ownership
> of the holding. A second son might be provided with a second-
> 428 ary education and might possibly win a County Council scholar-
> 874 ship . . . enabling him to pursue a course of engineering or medicine practically free. In the event, however, of his not being so fortunate, the thrift of the family may enable him to pursue a similar course at the university, the intervals between terms and the long vacation being spent on the farm.
>
> Some years ago medicine was the profession usually pursued provided the boy had no vocation for the priesthood. At that time the cost of his board was appreciably reduced by an arrangement through which neighbors' sons lodged together and brought with them supplies of potatoes, oatmeal, home-cured pork, in fact, provided for almost all their own food. When the boy is qualified to his own particular calling, to his credit it may be said that he denies himself many little luxuries in order to pay back the cost of his training and thus assist the other members of his family.
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> 593 The third son either got trained in business and in due course
> started one of his own, or emigrated where he could also refund
> 428 the cost to his parents. The fourth son might possibly become a primary school teacher, a civic guard, a tradesman [artisan] apprenticed by his father in the near-by town, or again his family might give him enough to marry into another small holding.
>
> One of the girls received a dowry or, as they say here, she was "fortuned off" into another small holding of similar status. The second girl possibly favored nursing, teaching, business, or domestic service, or again possibly religion, or even a clerical position of some sort either here or abroad.

166 The above quotation states the generalities in terms of
463 upward social mobility. The influx of the country people
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into the towns, into governmental, professional positions, 463
and into the ranks of urban occupations must wait for special 593
analysis in itself. It is not possible here to determine how great the effect of this movement from the small farms is upon the current much lamented overcrowding of the professions in Ireland. The point of interest for us is the dispersal of the farm group.

Naturally enough, this dispersal does not always occur so happily as in the above statement of the ideal. Yet the portioning off of the children and the success with which it is done is the pride as well as the duty of every farm family. A few examples will give the variations. They are more matters of success or failure to advance beyond the level of small farm life, but they show the genesis of the movement in the farm family. In a later section this subject will be dealt with in more detail. These examples, however, are typical, though the names are fictitious.

Leary of F —, a farmer with sixty acres, has a daughter married near-by with a four hundred pound fortune, and another, a nun in Mercy Convent, Ennis. Four sons have entered the priesthood, an expensive training from his point of view. A fifth is at home working, not yet thirty. Leary is a "strong" farmer, highly prosperous.

Tom Casey, K —, is a very poor holder with thirty acres of mountain and bog. Two sons and a daughter are still at home, and a bachelor brother works with him. Another daughter works for herself as a domestic servant in Ennis. One son Tom is apprenticed to a carpenter in Ennis. A daughter emigrated through the good graces of her aunt.

Michael Dunn of T — has twenty acres, but has not prospered. His two sons left at eighteen and twenty respectively to drive hackney automobiles in Ennis, an uncle there giving them a start. Another son now thirty and a daughter are still at home working the farm.

In a mountain townland, Pat Looney's father prospered, won 593
the good graces of the landlord's agent, amassed four farms, the 578
largest fifty acres, the smallest eighteen. He married off two 428

593 daughters with two hundred pound fortunes, settled three sons
578 and a daughter with her husband in each of the farms. Pat him-
self, the eldest, now about eighty, got the largest farm but not
428 the one he wanted. He has been warring with his brothers and his neighbors ever since. He held out against his father for five years, refusing to marry and take his farm. In Pat's youth, land agitation and reform had not yet prevented subdivision and acquiring of new farms by a successful tenant. Pat on his fifty-acre mountain farm has married off a daughter locally at three hundred pounds and sent two sons out to America. Another daughter works in England. Two sons, aged forty-three and thirty-six, are at home and Pat hasn't made up his mind yet which one shall get the land.

593 The examples, various as they are, need not be multiplied.
167 The sons and daughter who are not to be portioned at home,
in the words of the Luogh residents, "must travel." To that end both the savings of the family, created through their united efforts under the headship of father and mother, and
583 the incoming dowry, are devoted. In Luogh there had been only four marriages in ten years; two of them were the usual farm-transferring matches, one a returned emigrant who married a boyhood sweetheart and bought a farm, and one a widower who took a second wife and a second fortune. An old woman described the situation: "There aren't any matches nowadays. Nobody has a fortune to give his daugh-
ter and the young men must travel." Yet the woman who
454 lamented this state of affairs was carefully husbanding half crowns for her baby granddaughter's fortune.

593 Nevertheless this necessary dispersal of the members of
the family at its reorganization does not ordinarily destroy
167 the family ties. The bonds of affection and family obligation
457 still hold. If they have emigrated, the family members send
434 back remittances and passage money for nephews and nieces and brothers and sisters left at home. A great many farms, especially in West and North Clare, are partially supported by Christmas gifts from Americans and other exiles. It is

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

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[facing p. 148]

A JAUNTING CAR "FACES THE ROAD"

593 167 457 434 unfortunate that the authors have not statements of the amount of these annual remittances for local districts. The total for Ireland, however, is enormous. There is a marked tendency for emigration from a local region to perpetuate itself, sons and daughters of each generation going out to join the members of the last. One district round Cross to the west of Carrigaholt, a little settlement on the Loop Head peninsula which juts out from Clare into the Atlantic at the Shannon's mouth, said locally to be supported by sons in the Shanghai police force. The first to go became chief of police in the International Settlement there, and many places in the force have gone to men of Cross.

167 The authors had the opportunity of examining some of the family setting in which emigrant remittances operate in Luogh. There the greatest number of emigrants had gone out to Boston. In one family, there was a succession of nephews and nieces following uncles and aunts from the same farmhouse for four generations. In four recent cases Luogh boys and girls had married one another in Boston. In two more they had married in Ireland and emigrated together.

434 593 431 Remittances from sons and daughters arrive around Christmas. In one family the farmer's wife had written to children in America saying that the family were trying to acquire an addition to their holding from the Land Commission. The children sent them the purchase price. In this case the daughter sent her regular Christmas remittance as well. When she was admonished by her parents for such generosity, she wrote: "I would think it wasn't Christmas and I hadn't any father and mother if I didn't send them something."

[527] Her mention of the festival in the same breath with her parents is understandable when it is realized that Christmas is the family festival *par excellence* in Ireland.

434 593 The role played by emigrated relatives in providing for

434 the children upon the home farm and the role of the dispersed
593 children in helping the old couple and the brother
or sister at home is part of the general "friendliness" by
which the Irish countryman sums up the family obligations.
The two roles are felt to be the same, and they are described
in the same terms, as the obligations of actual charity between
country families, agricultural coöperation, and ceremonial
assistance at marriages, wakes, and funerals. Brother
and sister send back gifts to the home farm, especially when
[431] the old couple are still alive. Gifts of money, clothing, and
presents of all descriptions are sent back. Geese, farm delicacies,
and such mementos as shamrocks go from the farm
to those relatives that keep in touch.

At family crises, such as death, marriage, and birth, the
593 new bonds come strongly into play and, where possible, the
602 dispersed relatives come back to the farm at that time. The
167 emigrant returns, if he does so at all, to the very townland
484 of his birth, either to buy the old place or to settle near-by.
In fact, there are many instances of countrymen, returned
Americans, Australians, South Africans, and British soldiers,
who have roamed over the world but have never seen more
of Ireland than their route to and from their port of embarkation
and the nearest market towns.

593 The sentiments of place, farm, and family become so inextricably
152 intermingled as to be almost one. Perhaps the
533 peculiarly Irish type of song and music owes its character
as well as its popularity to that fact. The laments for a dear
one, especially a mother, and the pangs of exile are the
major motives. They are sung to the same tunes and call
forth the same tears.

593 The break-up of the family at the transfer of land has
changed the relation between the dispersed children and
the old couple, just as it has changed that between the new
farm family and their parents. Control of expenditure, in
fact all vestiges of the strict parental control, is perforce

destroyed. The best example of this fact is the change which 593 comes over the attitudes of the old people toward their children's personal expenditures. The economic corporation which they directed is destroyed with their headship of the group. Consequently, they no longer can demand the services of their children as before. Thus the authors saw several old couples doing their best to learn how much a returned emigrant had earned but, because of the change in position, not daring to ask outright. If the son had remained on the farm, they would not have hesitated to demand a strict accounting. Likewise, in such important matters as marriage, over which the parents would have had great authority as long as the son or daughter remained at home, the parents lose their control. More than one old couple remarked, on hearing from a distant exiled son of his marriage, that they wished him well but that he must please himself now that he was on his own.

A word more might be said to clarify the position of the 593 602 dispersed relatives. They equally share the new attenuated bonds which take the place of the old closely integrated family group. But, as might be expected in the structure of a family, which, as we have seen, is based, not upon the principle of rigidity in classification as in many primitive kinship systems, but upon the principle of extensions of relationship outward from the nucleus of the immediate family, the bonds are stronger as the original relationship is closer. The children of each generation growing up on the home farm can look far oftener to a father's or mother's emigrant brother for aid when their own time comes to emigrate than to father's and mother's emigrant cousins. The closer relatives are the ones who most often step forward, though the obligation theoretically binds them all. The following incident from Luogh illustrates the clash between the varying degrees of relationship. Let the small farmer tell the story himself:

> 593 602 A fellow named O'Dwyer – married to a cousin of the old woman out of Ballyheline [a neighboring townland] – was home from Australia one summer, looking a fine cut of a man with a new greatcoat and a fine hat on him. I saw him one day when we were all in Considine's shop for the old-age pension and knew who he was from the pictures of him. [After they had established recognition and struck up a friendship] he asked if he could take the boy (second son) out to Australia with him, and he would set him behind his bar. [He had a hotel there.] I said, yes, he could have him. After the fellow went back to Australia, he sent over fifty pounds for passage for Seumas. But didn't Seumas's sisters write from Boston and they swearing that if I let their brother go off from them to Australia, I'd never hear from them again. So Seumas went out to America to his sisters. And I sent back the fifty pounds, and sure wasn't it the devil's own work sending it back.

The new behavior, as this example shows, is that of the extended kindred already examined. Where emigration has not removed the brother and sister altogether, they are now "friends" and are bound by reciprocal obligations and sentimental attachment. The necessary disposal of their brothers and sisters provides for the continuance of the family unit upon the farm. The very mechanism which assures that continuance does the dispersing. Yet the dispersed do not leave the family. They stay within the bonds of kinship. They are united by the new more attenuated ties of cousinship. Their displacement, like that of the old people, is a regular social movement, providing for them, as it were, a new place and status, changing radically and necessarily their old family membership, yet still confining them within the web of interest and sentiment, though upon a new footing. Henceforward the relatives see one another, of course, less and less often and rely more and more upon the proxy of mementos and gifts.

593 In summary, the dispersal of the family is part of a general movement arising out of the re-formation of the family

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

group. Forces within the relations of the members of the group bring it into being. Yet the dispersal is carried out very often in ways which depend also upon familial ties. The whole movement is carried on in the midst of an orderly and organic transformation which comes over the family regularly at marriage and death. Old and new meet at marriage in Ireland. Between them social organization is passed on though a prior group is partially destroyed. 593

Let us recapitulate, then, for a moment. Statistical statement of productive and consumptive behavior in rural economy revealed a marked difference between small and large farmers. Within that difference the small farmers presented a great statistical uniformity. Consequently, it was necessary to look beyond the numerical count to the actual behavior of the small farmers. In referring the question to the lives of the small farmers themselves, we were led to a new analysis of their behavior and to the discovery of a new uniformity. 182 593

The new uniformity, however, is of a different nature. It is itself a coherent and consistent pattern, widely extensive, and responsible to laws of inner development of its own. We are entitled, or rather compelled, to call it a system and to give it the character of other systems, where that word is used with precise meaning and is not warped into a catch-all of common speech.

For, it is evident, the intricate web of human movement and interrelationship involving objects, household and land, which the study of "matchmaking" reveals, is no random movement. It arises in response to definite needs of the family group. It performs a definite function of reorganization and recrystallization in the group. The manifold changes the match brings upon the lives of the family members, the new positions which they take up, and the new behaviors which are theirs are dependent upon its success in this function. We do not need to insist that they are fully dependent upon it. It is sufficient that they cannot be adequately understood without some assessment of its influence. If we keep this fact in mind, we are ready for an analytic interpretation of our data. The uniform social behaviors of the small farmers begin to form an interrelated whole.

Marriage, property transfer, and the dispersal of the family members derive their character from family relationships. The immediate family of father, mother, and children form a corporate group engaged in agriculture upon a small farm. The roles of the father and mother make them superordinate to the children. Theirs is the direction of the group enterprise. Within the group, technological roles correspond with family status. Economic endeavor, both upon the individual farms and in the form of coöperation between farms, is controlled through the operation of social forces springing from the family. In the testimony of the farmers themselves, that effort is but part of a larger constellation of behavior patterns, obligations, and sentiments governing the individual in other fields by virtue again of his place in the family group. In total, Irish small farm agriculture presents a picture, not of isolated individuals or units pursuing a course of the greatest economic gain, amassing material objects in response wholly to individual desires and selling labor as a commodity, but of a way of life, only a small part of which we have examined, in which the relations between individuals, the soil, productive work, and the material goods of the household constitute a web of social ties, bearing their own incentive and reward and determining the part of the individual in the labor and the goods of the group.

At marriage and at death, as we have seen, this web of relationships is disturbed. New individuals are introduced, old ones lost. The match brings a re-formation of the family involving a dispersal of former members and an introduction

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of a new set of component individuals into the relationships between land, goods, labor, and human beings.

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In the light of this system and of the internal changes which are brought about within it, the Irish population statistics now may become interpretable. Late marriage and the high incidence of bachelorhood are associable with the reluctance of the old couple to renounce their leadership, the necessity of acquiring sufficient means to portion children, and the delay in dispersing the closed corporation of the family group until it is possible to establish the new one. The practical self-sufficiency of the family group makes it difficult to destroy. The identification of a single immediate family with the individual farm prevents the setting up of more than one new such group upon the land.

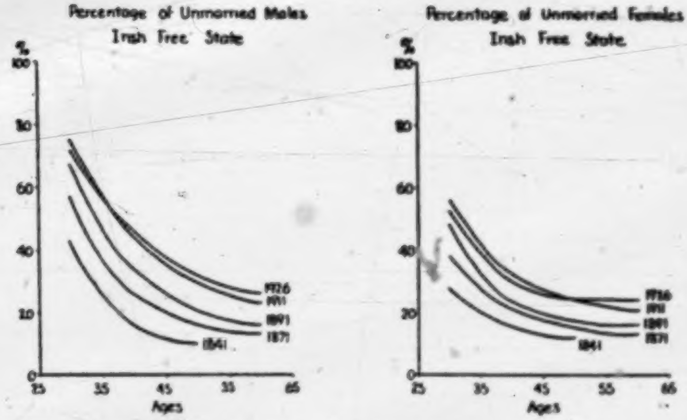
As we pointed out, subdivision of holdings practically ceased after 1852. Since then the struggle for land and legal reforms in land tenure have prohibited any great further division. The matchmaking system is very old in Ireland. The works of such Gaelic writers as Canon O'Leary describe it explicitly for the pre-famine period. With the cessation of subdivision of holdings came the necessity of providing for children elsewhere than on the land. From that same cessation of subdivision dates the high incidence of bachelorhood. In 1841, at the time of greatest population, age of marriage was normal. Then only 43 per cent of males between twenty-five and thirty-five were unmarried, not 72 per cent, as at present. Then only 15 per cent of males between thirty-five and forty-five were celibate, not 29 per cent as today. Figure 13 represents the percentages of unmarried males and females at each age in each subsequent census from 1841 to 1926.

Viewed in the light of this family structure, the decline of population becomes interpretable not as a flight from intolerable conditions, though economic distress had a powerful effect, not as a political gesture, though political

161 disturbance took its toll, but rather as a movement arising
182 from the effect of all these causes upon a family system
593 whose very nature predisposed it to disperse population and which could, therefore, accommodate itself to that dispersal when it occurred. Emigration, no new thing in 1845, appears as the logical corollary of this dispersal. It derives much of its character, such as assisted passages and remittances, from the social forces at work in the family. It can become a traditional movement like the movement from country to town without destroying the family structure or the rural culture whose members it takes away.

FIGURE 13

PERCENTAGE OF UNMARRIED PERSONS, IRISH FREE STATE



The figures are taken from the censuses from 1841 to 1926.

The authors do not mean to imply that anything within the social forces of the family as it exists in Ireland has had direct causal effect upon the peculiar statistics of Irish population. The authors would rather point out that the forces operative within that structure are of such a nature as to allow the society of which they are a part to continue to

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

function in essentially similar fashion through the welter 161
of economic, political, and other events which have impinged 182
upon the human beings who have successively filled 593
the structure. Likewise, the structure is capable of continued and virile existence in the present, governing the lives of its component individuals and modifying itself to take in new influences.

# CHAPTER IX

## *The Problem of the Aged*

888 THE small farmers of the Irish countryside have a characteristic way of treating differences among themselves that is based upon relationships fundamental in the organization of their communities. Naturally these folkways are connected with the norms of family life. Perhaps the most important of them is their treatment of differences in age.

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888 Ireland is in some ways an old person's country. The percentages of the old in the population are very high. Naturally the fact is closely allied to an emigration which until recently has drained the country of its young adult manhood and womanhood. And, as in the case of emigration and late marriage, it is the rural districts, or better, the small farmers who inhabit them, that set the norm for the whole country.

A comparison of the distribution of age groups over the population between aggregate rural areas and aggregate town areas, as made in the 1926 census,[1] shows the case clearly. For the whole Free State at that time there are 671 males per 10,000 males aged sixty-five to seventy-four in the aggregate rural areas, while in the aggregate town areas there are only 402 per thousand of that age. The proportions of females of this age to total females are higher

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[1] *Census of Population, 1926*, vol. V, pt. I: Ages, Orphanhood and Conjugal Conditions.

[p. 158]

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in both cases, but they show much the same relationship. In both sexes the number of old people is greater in the country districts. Conversely, of course, the country districts show a smaller number of people of adult years. Among males the country areas in the aggregate for the whole of the Free State count only 1,115 per 10,000 aged thirty-five to forty-four, while the towns count 1,234 per 10,000 in the same adult age group.

When the various county rural areas are subjected to internal comparisons, similar proportions of old and young appear. To give only one example, County Clare counts 752 per 10,000 males aged sixty-five to seventy-four in the aggregate rural areas of the county, but only 528 per 10,000 of the same age in the aggregate of the county's towns. Likewise, Meath, a county of the midland "ranching" area, shows a proportion between rural and urban districts of 620 to 392; and Galway, in part a "congested area," a proportion of 723 to 547. Thus within counties from all parts of Ireland the same greater concentration of the old is found in the country districts.

One can remark immediately from the examples given above that there is a progression in the degree with which, for the counties mentioned, the numbers of old people of the age group selected range above or below the average number of their age per 10,000 males for the whole population of the Free State. This fact introduces us to a new consideration, corollary to the last. It is in general the poorer western counties, where small holders predominate, which have the larger number of aged individuals. Numbers per 10,000 males of the age we have selected before sixty-five to seventy-four rise regularly among the rural populations of the Irish counties from the 614 and 620 of Kilkenny and Meath to the 841 and 835 of Leitrim and Monaghan. In such a scale, the southwestern counties, such as Clare, are again in the middle, though Clare itself with a count of 752 leans heavily toward the Leitrim side.

It becomes obvious that census records by age will all support the assumption. It is in the rural areas, and among the small farmers, that, relatively, the largest number of old people are to be found. Tables 2A and 2B[2] illustrate this conclusion graphically.

TABLE 2A

OLD PEOPLE IN IRELAND: RURAL AND URBAN AREAS IN SELECTED COUNTIES

| Census Area | Males per 10,000 aged 65–74 |
|---|---|
| Free State (all counties) | |
| Aggregate rural areas | 671 |
| Aggregate urban areas | 402 |
| Clare | |
| Aggregate rural areas | 752 |
| Aggregate urban areas | 528 |
| Meath | |
| Aggregate rural areas | 620 |
| Aggregate urban areas | 393 |
| Galway | |
| Aggregate rural areas | 723 |
| Aggregate urban areas | 547 |

TABLE 2B

OLD PEOPLE IN IRELAND: SELECTED COUNTIES SHOWING MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM IN AGGREGATE RURAL AREAS

| Census Area | Males per 10,000 aged 65–74 |
|---|---|
| Kilkenny | 614 |
| Meath | 620 |
| Clare | 752 |
| Monaghan | 835 |
| Leitrim | 841 |

That the large proportion of old people is a matter of the agricultural community is very evident again when the figures indicating the age of those following the various occupations are examined. This is important in gauging the provision Irish society makes for its old members, for numerically they are a large group. Not only are there larger numbers of old people relatively to other adults in the countryside than in the towns and in agricultural pursuits than in other occupations, but also there are more of them absolutely. Thus out of 550,772 males engaged in agriculture, there was one in 14 of them, or 41,130, over seventy years of age. Among all other "producers, makers and repairers," who numbered 154,016, there were only 3,655 septuagenarian males, or one man in 50. Even among the more sedentary occupations of the towns, the occurrence of old men in commercial, financial, or insurance pursuits was only one in 56 and in professions only one in 75. The occupational figures show that the old are still active and numerous in agriculture. In other fields old people are far less numerous and the numbers of retired persons are greater.

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[2] Based on tables from *Census of Population, 1926*, vol. V, pt. I.

It is only among one sort of agriculturalist, the farm holders and their helping relatives, that this fact is true. Naturally the numbers of the old are high in Ireland, where they represent the survivors of a numerically larger generation thinned much by emigration and where their relative number in the total population is increased by the absence of many men and women who could, without emigration, swell the ranks of the youngadult age groups. Nevertheless, within the framework of these proportions, it is the farm-holding agricultural group which sets the norm. Expressing the same proportions in percentages, agriculture counts among its male followers 9 per cent — holders and relatives assisting them — who are over seventy years of age. No other group exhibits such a percentage. The only other occupations to show any similar longevity or length of service are "makers of apparel and made-up textile goods" with 6 per cent of their number still engaged after the age of seventy. All others range much lower in percentage of aged individuals still occupied.

The relatively great preponderance of the old in agriculture does not extend to the agricultural laborers. They number only 2 per cent of males over seventy. It is only among the farmers and farmers' relatives assisting them that so many old people are alive and active.

It becomes even more evident that it is the farm population which sets the norm for Ireland in this regard when we compare figures of this sort with those of the total population. In all Ireland 6.7 per cent of males are over seventy years of age. Those in the adult years twenty-five to twenty-nine and thirty to thirty-four number only 9.2 per cent and 8.0 per cent of the total males. The farm population with percentages of 8.4 and 8.0 in those ages is the only occupational group to show figures below those of the total population. All others rise above the average percentages for the whole country. Naturally it is the absolutely greater numbers of the farm population which weight the averages. Yet, understanding this, we must also understand that it is among the farm population that the norm is determined.

Statistics for females present rather different ratios. They need not detain us, as they are complicated by the inclusion of a larger category entitled "those engaged in home duties." The category embraces the greater number of urban women and makes comparison with farm women by occupation somewhat precarious. On the other hand, it has the merit of grouping them about household duties and provides in itself a good distinction between urban and rural household workers. Comparing them, then, we find 12 per cent of female farmers and relatives helping farmers over seventy, and of this 5 per cent and 8 per cent aged thirty to thirty-four and thirty-five to forty-four. (We choose here ages in which most of the women who marry are already married.) But among the women "engaged in home duties" (the category which embraces most townswomen, as well as unspecified numbers of countrywomen), only 4.4 per cent are over seventy, and conversely the more numerous 11 per cent and 23 per cent are thirty to thirty-four and thirty-five to forty-four. The total female population shows percentages of 8.3 per cent over seventy and 8 per cent and 15 per cent in the younger age grades. It can be seen how these comparisons bear out the conclusions presented by those of the males. It is among the farm population that the largest number of old people are to be found. In this regard the farmers again set the norm for Ireland.

The largest proportions of the aged among the farmers prevail, furthermore, among the small farmers. One can expect this fact, related as it is to the greater emigration of this class. The statistics correlating the size of the farm and age group proportions bear out the expectation.

Table 3, based again upon census records,[3] expresses the relative percentages of males over seventy years of age and of males thirty to forty-four (the age groups in which emigration comes to an end) in the total of males ranked by age among farmers and farmers' assisting relatives upon the various sizes of farms, for the whole of the Free State:

TABLE 3

OLD AGE AND SIZE OF FARMS

| Farm Size in Acres | Percentage of Farmers and Assisting Relatives over 70 Years of Age | Percentage of Farmers and Assisting Relatives Aged 30–44 |
|---|---|---|
| 1–5 | 15 | 10 |
| 5–10 | 12 | 15 |
| 10–15 | 10 | 11 |
| 15–30 | 9 | 12 |
| 30–50 | 8 | 12 |
| 50–100 | 7½ | 10 |
| 100–200 | 7 | 16 |
| 200–over | 1 | 24 |

The table reveals a constant diminution of the percentage of the old as the size of farms increases. In other words, the smaller the farm the greater the likelihood that it supports old people. Since we are dealing with census records of occupations actually engaged in at the time of numeration, the figures again point to the fact that larger proportions of old people are still active upon the small farms than elsewhere. On the small farms, then, the old do not retire. That there should be no constant increase in the percentages of the adult age groups does not detract from the validity of the conclusion. The inconsistency of the percentages can be referred to the differential emigration rates of the inhabitants of farms of various sizes. If emigration takes place at different ages and in greater or less proportions from different-sized farm holdings, as other figures not germane in this connection point out, that fact will make it impossible to select any one age group to illustrate the corresponding increase of the proportion of adult males to aged males in the farm size categories.

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[3] *Census of Population, 1926*, vol. V, pt. II, Table 7.

The table confirms the point. It is among the small holders that the greatest number of old people survive. The peasant population is again responsible for a striking peculiarity of Irish demography.

That the peculiarity is a peasant manifestation can be demonstrated upon a narrower stage. In the various counties of the Free State, the same statistical differences appear between rural areas and small holdings on one hand and urban areas and large holdings on the other. Old people are relatively numerous in the former, relatively few in the latter. In Clare, to take one example, we have seen already that the aggregate rural areas count a larger proportion of the old than do the aggregate urban areas (towns of 1,500 or more inhabitants). The Clare rural districts in which larger holdings are more numerous, Meelick and Ballyvaughan, count 2.4 per cent and 3.1 per cent respectively of their people over seventy-five, both male and female. Those in which larger holdings are relatively fewer, e.g., Tulla and

Ennistymon, count larger percentages (4.6 and 4.0 respectively). 162
Here again, within the bounds of the county, the 888
demographic peculiarity by which the old are so numerous is a characteristic of the small-farm population. The presence of large farmers in any district is enough to weigh proportions away from the peasant norm. Comparisons of occupations by age within the county yield the same result. We need not detail them here.[4]

The demographic peculiarity which gives Ireland so large a proportion of the aged in her population becomes more
marked when other nations are compared. The Irish death [165]
rate is rather low. Most strikingly, only one civilized country keeping census records of age distribution surpasses Ireland in the large proportion of aged individuals. That country is France, which in 1926 counted 9.4 per cent of its citizens over sixty-five years of age, barely topping the Irish figure of 9.2 per cent. Other countries ranged far below France and the Free State, Scandinavian and Baltic countries coming comparatively near, with such figures as that of 8.8 per cent for Sweden and 7.6 per cent for Norway. Industrial Germany and England (with Wales) occupied a middle place with figures of 5.7 per cent and 6.6 per cent respectively, and such "new" countries as Australia and the United States, where the percentages are 4.4 per cent and 4.7 per cent, brought up the rear. These figures (see Table 4) were taken from national censuses of various dates in the various countries in the period 1920–1926 and compiled for the Irish census primarily from the "International Health Year Book 1928 (League of Nations)" and *Aperçu de la démographie des divers pays du monde, 1925* (International Institute of Statistics).

Ireland and France share eminence as abodes of the old. 162
But they reach that eminence through different courses. A 165
comparison of the expectancy of life in the two countries,

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[4] *Census of Population, 1926*, vol. V, pt. II, Table 12A, County Clare.

162 made upon the basis of actuarial computations at the time
165 of the taking of the census in the Free State, reveals this difference. In addition, it reveals a new factor in the question of age distribution in Ireland. At all ages from birth

TABLE 4

PERSONS OVER SIXTY-FIVE IN IRELAND AND OTHER COUNTRIES

| Country | Population Percentage |
|---|---|
| France | 9.4 |
| Ireland | 9.2 |
| Sweden | 8.8 |
| Norway | 7.6 |
| England (with Wales) | 6.6 |
| Germany | 5.7 |
| Australia | 4.4 |
| United States | 4.7 |

to eighty, the expectation of life is considerably higher in the Free State than in France. At five (a better age than that of birth to take for purposes of computation because of infant mortality) the Irishman may look forward to fifty-nine years of life, the Frenchman only to fifty-five. At forty he may expect to live thirty-eight years more to the Frenchman's thirty-five. And at eighty, if they both survive so long, the Irishman may hope to outlive the Frenchman by more than a year, their expectancies being at that age 5.8 and 4.3 respectively. As Ireland shows a very high expectation of life at all ages in comparison with other countries, especially for males (the female expectancies being considerably lower), the combination of this fact with her large proportion of old people leads to a new conclusion. Not only are the old in Irish country districts relatively more numerous, but they are absolutely more numerous since they live longer than in other countries. Consequently, whatever conditions produce the large percentage of old people among the total population in France, they are not

those of Ireland. There low life expectancies go hand in 162
hand with a large proportion of the aged. In Ireland high 165
expectancies, especially at older ages, where they are among the highest in the world for both sexes, go hand in hand with the same phenomenon.

For this reason one cannot appeal too directly to emigration as the determinant of the demographic condition. The Irish countryside is relatively full of old people, not only because so many of the young adults have left, but also because the old people tend to live long lives.

Within this complexity of factors, emigration, a high percentage of the old, and late marriage, the small farmers set the norms for the whole country. Now we can recognize that high expectancies of life also belong to them. A comparison of life expectancies among the three provinces of the Free State will suffice to bear out the fact. Males of Connacht can expect more years of life at all ages than males of Munster; the males of Munster can expect more than those of Leinster; and those of Leinster can expect least of all three. Thus the provinces show higher expectancies the smaller their farms.

Many causes have been advanced to account for Irish 165
longevity. The country people live long and die often very old indeed. Diet, climate, natural selection through infant mortality, racial heredity, have all been suggested by various writers. Probably all of these factors are involved, in one way or another, but the problem is one that has faced students of peasantries often.

The authors have no single efficient cause to offer. The 165
question that poses itself for them is one of effect rather
than of cause. The existence of such a large proportion of 888
the old among small farmers presents a problem in the organization of behavior among human beings. Nevertheless, might not the longevity of peasants be after all a simple matter? In the Irish case we shall see that they live long

888 because they have much to live for. In their own sphere of life, they are honored. They have power.

888 The problem is one which must be referred to the small farmers themselves. As before, it is a question of their sentiments and their conducts and any analysis of their action in the matter must follow upon the presentation of observed generalities in their social life.

Some of these generalities present themselves to the eye immediately. As we saw in the discussion of the house and family, there is a great deal of everyday conduct which expresses the differences of social valuation of age and which one age group follows in its intercourse with many others. This conduct, the sentiments which accompany it, and the attitudes and verbalizations with which it is associated, can be seen every day in the lives of the people. It is part of the *mores* of the community. The child learns it as he grows up upon the small farms. It prepares him to meet all others in the local community who are of substantially the same status, habits of life, and speech as the members of his own family. It provides a scale of valuation in which each individual can place any other within the bounds of variation existing in the local community, and upon which both can build sure expectancies of conduct. On another facet it gives each and every individual a place among individuals occupying similar places. In making status in this way, it governs behavior in high degree, imposing bounds upon it and exacting conformity. We have already seen something of this conduct. In the discussion of the house interior and the grouping and seating of individuals by rough similarity of age, we have seen what might be termed one focal point within the system of relations which is characterized by this conduct. The old people in the farm family occupied that point. Place of honor and privilege within the household is theirs. In their families they are objects of respect and a mild sort of veneration on the part of all younger members.

They^ occupy this place and receive this respect from other 888
persons than their relatives. This respect is as much folk 626
custom as the norms of family life. The community can on occasion enforce it upon the family members through gossip, verbal censure, and, more rarely, direct intervention in the person of the priest.

The vocabulary of the countryman and a great many of 888
the judgments and comments he makes upon his surroundings express the valuations of the community upon age. In 561
the discussion of the house interior it was remarked that the conducts of the different age groups were too "natural" to the farmers to evoke verbal recognition among them. The statement is true only in a sense. The farmers make no explicit recognition of the organization of behavior upon the basis of age. But they are never silent upon the implications of such organization as it affects individual conduct in daily life.

More cogent, perhaps, for our understanding are the 888
many expressions which arise from day to day based upon 561
the speaker's place within an age grade. A great part of the 521
constant talk which flows back and forth among the friends and neighbors who pass their lives within a rural community takes its form so. Particularly is this true of discussion of the past, a favorite topic and one which came very frequently indeed to the authors' ears. Gossip and personalities are as frequent a theme, and a speaker rarely fails to qualify the object of his remarks with an appropriate definition of his relative age. Even to intimates a man is referred to as "old John" or "young Michael."

Perhaps it is the discussion of the past which illustrates 888
best partiality for the things of one's own age. The older 521
men and women describe the "old days" with enthusiasm and regret. The "old times" are a ready topic among the country people, or rather among the older ones. Many an evening an old person can be got to tell of the "old times."

^ [i.e., the aged.—Analyst]

888 521 He or she takes little warming to the task. They were hard times, even "bad times" of famine and death, but the speakers throw a glow of courage and glamour round them. Even the mention of the lack of tools, draft animals, shoes, and many other amenities of present existence evokes comments such as "Weren't they the poor old times?" and "Wasn't it hard the work they had to do in the old days?" Phrases of murmured commiseration and headshaking regret or pity are not without a tinge of pride for listener and teller alike. Remembered necessities in the eyes of the old people who tell the tale are now feats of endurance and strength to which the new generation could never aspire. That is the point for those who tell and those who listen. Where could you get a young man today to walk from Corrofin to Ballinasloe in his bare feet forty miles and back over the stony roads? [482] Where is the woman today who could shoulder a creel turf and carry it a hundred yards out through the bog mud to the famine road before the Board put in the road to the bog above Dunnagore?

888 521 262 Even the meager diet of the old times is remembered with a certain nostalgic pride. An old man, called upon one winter evening, began his remarks upon the theme characteristically:

> In the old days people used to have a maize gruel "stirabout" for breakfast, but you couldn't get any of the young people to eat it now. There was a potato bread, *stampai*, and it was very good too. The people in the old times had great teeth and, when they died, they would have every one left in their heads. Their teeth would be stronger than a horse's. When the people ate potatoes and bread three times a day, they were healthier and lived to a ripe old age. Now with all the better food, they are not as well.

888 521 Such a belief rises very frequently to the lips of the old people who remember the days of the past either in their own or their parents' experience. The implication is clear. The young people, the new generation, are not so strong

nor so hardy nor even so good-natured as those who went before. 888

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Discussions of the present fall into the same vein. Just as, for the older members of the community, the past reflects their glories and is a convenient vehicle for the expression of their superiority, so the present can be measured against the past in the same terms, usually only to be found lacking.

Often the expressions take a different turn. They become that universal complaint, the younger generation.

> Young people today are not what they used to be [said one old farmer in the course of a general discussion of the golden age that was his youth]. They spend money for fags, they have to be gambling every night, or else go to a dance, and, if they happen to win a turkey, they will nearly shake the house down when they come in. There is no good in the country when things go on like this. In the old days a man used always to be out repairing his stone walls, cleaning his land, or doing something. They expect everything to be done for them.

He paused for an illustration, selected one from among his own cronies, and swept volubly on:

> Wasn't Keane out every night with his cattle putting them in small fields and late in the night? He would have his supper waiting for him when he came in, but he would take off his shoes so not to waken his father, and then to bed. Wasn't he up early in the morning and out working? They cleared a nice piece of land in the common. He kept it all until he had cattle up by Ballywaughan. You wouldn't get any of the young people to do that now. There's no control of them.

But even among his listeners, all of them "old" like himself, the young people had some defense:

> But there has to be some fun for the young people. If they don't enjoy themselves, there is no heart in them. You can't expect them to be always at home.

But these statements express more than a mere rivalry between young and old. They spring from a feeling of

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mutuality between young and old which transcends rivalry. The old days were better, among other reasons, because the dependence of the young upon the old was greater. The present is less attractive because the young no longer help the old as they should. Both facets of such mutuality may be expressed, even though the speaker, if he is old, casts it in the form of mistrust and dislike for the young. The whole of experience can be brought within this scheme of attitudes. To give an example, let an old fellow, an opponent of the present regime of Gaelicization in Ireland, recite his misgivings about the school system:

> I am patriotic and it may be a bad thing to say but I think the school system they have now is bad and the teaching of Irish is bad. In my day and before, a man might go to school when he could — maybe for only three months out of the twelve — but he would know more than they get now when they go to school all the time. The old people learned more then. When the child finished school, he could be expected to read a newspaper to the old people and to write a letter for them, or to do sums — and he would do it well.

His complaint is much longer, but enough has been given to show his mistrust of a schooling which to his mind makes no provision for the mutuality mentioned. This mutuality was and is strongest in the realm of farm work. The farm family demands the coöperation of all its members. No less, the community makes its valuation of young and old upon that coöperation. General discussions among the country people bring out this fact again and again. To illustrate again, two "old fellows," adult farmers with families, could agree upon a formula running somewhat as follows:

> The men were stronger in the past, they worked harder, while you try to get any young person to do as much work as the old men now and they would laugh at you. The young people today seem to see how little they can do rather than how much, while

the old men would strip down and compete with one another to see who can do the most work. 888 521

Yet they were later forced to admit:

> The people in the old times were not as knacky as they are now. Isn't it true that they used to have the horse in a stall feeding him while the man would be out with a spade turning over the garden?

Most of these allusions are to the realm of farm work. 888 Just as the rivalry between father and son in the farm family 578 is most intimate and most constant in the economy which 561 they pursue together, so the expression of the conflict between the generations in the community at large takes the same form and finds its expression within the frame of the work that the community must do to live.

Naturally enough, the young people do not express these attitudes. They do not agree with their elders on the score of their own shortcomings. But they have a good deal to say, among themselves, from their own point of vantage. They express the reverse of the medal. The past is not so golden to them, and there are many among their elders whose idiosyncrasies can be sweepingly condemned with some such criticism as "old fool" and "old blatherer." Like the son already quoted who gave his father his head in farm work and listened patiently for orders, only to follow his own devices, they have their own valuations of themselves in which youth and strength outweigh age and wisdom.

But within a system of values in which the old represent 578 the nexus of kinship and bear honor within the community, 561 the young people do not see the issue so clearly. There is as much respect as there is antagonism in their verbal assessment of the older men and women. The young people recognize themselves as forming a distinct group with interests and sentiments of its own, opposed in the scheme of rural life to the elders. They use the word "we" and oppose it to "them" for the old. They recognize places, pursuits,

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578 and forms of activity as their own and find much more inter-
561 est in them than in those of the other group. The young
men greet the suggestion that they should take their place in the gathering of old men in something of the tone of derision which they reserve for women. But the rivalry in their sentiments between respect and egocentric feeling, like the controls imposed by their parents to keep them respectfully silent in the presence of their elders, imposes a silence upon them. Consequently, one cannot find among them the voluble expression of attitudes based upon one's belonging to a certain relative age. One must look for it rather in particular expressions of annoyance, boredom, and chafing against restraint.

Expressions of sentiment about age are the products of a system of values upon it in which the individual makes the valuation from the place he occupies. They express not only a grouping of individuals of similar age but a mutuality between groups so composed. And, too, they form a scaffolding of categorization in which each person takes his relative place.

Let us examine one instance at least of this categorization.
561 The community in rural Ireland bestows many names and
554 titles. They are ephemeral. They have no currency outside
551 the immediate circle of life in the townland or village. At
889 best, they spread through a parish. They are nicknames and
express no more than the individual's particular place in the hearts of his fellows. Yet some of them are generic epithets. Like "old" and "young," they may prefix a name and designate the more closely the personality of the person named. Like "boy" and "old fellow," they may express broad categories of a man's age and its associated behavior, and may designate not so much a biologic or physiognomic reality as a sociological status. The words "saint" and *cailleach* are of the last kind of epithet, in rural usage. In the brogue they refer only to the old. In strict philology

both are metaphorical, for the brogue knows and makes use 561
of the words in their "proper" meanings. *Cailleach*, the 554
Gaelic word, means properly "hag" or "witch." "Saint," of 551
course, is the canonized saint of the church. 888

The small farmer who refers to this or that contemporary and neighbor as a "saint" or a *cailleach* is making a social and moral categorization. He is not concerned with purity of diction. The old man or woman, who follows a behavior proper to his or her status and is an ornament to the community, is a "saint." The old man or woman who does not is the object of distrust and dislike. His or her departures from accepted conduct cause disturbance and strife in the community. Accordingly, he or she is a *cailleach*. Thus, in one North Clare community a "stranger" whom the community disliked was a *cailleach*, despite the feminine gender of the word. Likewise, the old man who lived in harmony with his son upon a farm already transferred, a leader in the village whose oldest hale inhabitant he was, could be described by a neighbor as follows:

> The old man is a typical Irishman. He is a saint and there isn't a thought against anyone in him. He is always in a good humor and, if he went to town to have a drink, he could stand in the one place till he dropped. He is as gentle and harmless as a child, and it will be a great loss to the village when he is gone. He and Roche [a neighbor] are two level-headed farmers and they have met every sort of trouble. If you are in doubt about any farm advice, you can go to them and they will give you as good advice as you can get, because both of them have been successful farmers. It would pay a young man to listen to them.

"Saintliness" of this kind is a matter of one's filling one's role. But it is one's role for the village that counts. There is nothing individual in the canon of conduct. The young person who follows ardently the conventions laid down for him is not a "saint" even if he is exceedingly chaste and religious. It is the word "holy," not "saint," which comes

561 to the countryman's lips in describing him. Nor is a young
554 person a *cailleach*, for, like "saint," the term applies only to
551 the old. Both terms refer to sociological age rather than
chronological age, for those old people who occupy the role
888 of "old" only because they have been forced into that position within the farm family can also be "saints." Thus the elder sister described in the discussion of farm marriage, who occupied the west room and the hob by the fire, was known in the neighborhood as a "saint."

Relative age makes a difference in status in the local community. It fits one into a definite place in a scheme of values. And lastly, as in the description of "saint," it equips one with a definite role in communal life which one can fill well or ill.

561 The conduct that reflects this state of affairs thrusts itself
554 into the observer's view again and again in rural Ireland
wherever he meets countrymen of different ages together.
888 The relations between young and old in the community, like those between parent and child within the family, are understandable in the light of the roles of such broad age groups in terms of status.

First, there is the matter of privilege and precedence. To an outsider there may seem little enough in the countryman's way of life to allow for such distinctions. But from within, that little looms much greater. The old fellow, the men of full status who head farms and farm-working corporations of sons — those who have turned or are about to turn over their control to a younger generation — are accorded a very real precedence. In their own houses we have seen it to be very great. In the community at large it is little less so. A farmer visiting another takes his place at the hearth seat. His sons lag behind and occupy the back of the room. When the community gathers in the wake house to honor the dead, the places by the fire go to the older men and women. The boys and girls must group themselves behind. They come forward only when called upon. At

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country "stations"[8] the elder men and women file in for 554
confession and come forward for Communion first. On the 888
road to the shop, to church, or to the fair, the young man
must keep pace and the elder may call him to his side.

The relation shows itself best perhaps in the constant 561
discussions that are the breath of life for the countryman. 554
No work is too pressing to prevent the countryman from 888
"stopping on the road to pass the time of day." In the rural 521
community such personal communion is an indispensable [461]
bridge across the social and physical space separating farm
from farm. In all such discussion it is the elder men who
may regulate length and subject of conversation. When
groups form in pubs, in one another's houses on evening
visits, before and after mass in the churchyard, the enthralling
game of presenting argument, choosing sides, directing
the flow of talk, belongs to the older men. The young men [203]
must listen in. At such times the important news of the
countryside disseminates itself. Political judgments are
formed, and the ephemeral decisions of daily life are made.
In all this the boys are silent listeners. It is a bold young
man who enters an opinion of his own.

Second, there is the matter of the contacts of the community 561
with the outside world. The elder men, these same 554
father-owners, represent the interests of the community before
priest, schoolmaster, merchant, cattleman, and government 888
official. The younger men hang back, ready to be
brought in when the elders want them, listening in and
keeping their own counsel. Much of this we have already
indicated, but it is necessary to cite it here again in order to 561
round out the picture. 554

The relation extends to very small matters indeed. The 888
better cup of tea, the bigger piece of bread, the glass of 276

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[8] In country districts remote from the parish church masses are said in the [194]
private houses of parishioners once or twice a year in order to allow the performance
of Easter or Christmas duty by those confined to their homes through
age or sickness or other cause. These are "country stations," important religious
events in every townland.

561 whiskey, the two eggs instead of one, the pipeful of tobacco,
554 go to the elder men. This last, tobacco, is no small matter
888 where even now tobacco is still expensive enough to require
276 careful husbanding. It is a custom in the country districts to pass the pipe around among one's intimates and guests for testing, for praise, and to the accompaniment of formulae still often magical in nature. But the pipe does not go to the young man. He must content himself with an occasional "fag." When there is little, the young man can go without.

For illustration there is the anecdote that one Clare farmer tells:

> During the time when tobacco was scarce [the war], an old man came into Sullivan's [shop] and asked for a half-quarter [cut of tobacco]. The Missus told him to go [get it] where he always bought it. He was very cast down. After he was out the door, I said to her she should give him some tobacco because a man who is used to it all his life would miss it greatly if he can't get it. "Let the young bucks go," said I; "they don't want it. But an old fellow wants it badly." She looked at me and says, "Frank, are you serious?" "I am, faith," says I; "call the old man back." He was just a few paces down the road. She did and his face lighted up and he couldn't thank her enough.

561 Informal as these differences are, they are nevertheless
554 powerful agents in the regulation of conduct among the
888 small farmers. Without them, the flavor of country life is lost. Without them, too, one can gain no understanding of the never-varying annual round of social activity in the country districts nor any inkling of the importance of those informal activities of social intercourse which fill the nonworking lives of the countrymen. It is here that social patterns of behavior upon age difference assume importance as controls of human activity. It is here that the roles the age grades play in the organization of the community reveal themselves most clearly.

When the authors first made their way into the small farm communities which they came to know best, they were plunged into a mass of observation which, without knowledge of the valuations of the community upon age, had no interpretation. Night after night, the day's work done, their new acquaintances, at least the males among them, walked out upon the roads to this house and that in search of recreation and companionship. Mention of dances, "gambles," "hooleys," sings, *ceilidhthe,* filled our ears, belying the impression of a gray monotony of rural life too easily gathered by town-bred minds. Some of these sportive events were age-old survivals of ancient custom, like the bonfires of St. John's Eve. Others were nearly as ancient celebrations of crucial events in individual and family life, such as wakes, christenings, weddings. But many others were less occasional and less specialized gatherings, and others wore a very modern dress: a turkey raffle and a dance round a gramophone. 517 573

But our interest was soon caught by distinctions of participation, rather than those of kind. The people of the village participated variously. Different groups met more or less regularly at specific houses.

For instance, the "old fellows" went out on *cuaird*, as they called their visiting to join one another. They followed a deep-set regular habit. As they phrased it, "a man would feel lonely if he didn't go out on *cuaird*." In most communities, they usually convened at a particular house. Often their gatherings bore particular names. In one North Clare community, Rynamona by name, the old men's meeting was known as the *Dáil*. Before the Free State, it had been the "parliament." The name is a jocular one, of course, but it is expressive of the participants' evaluation of themselves nonetheless. 517 573 887

The young men know the *Dáil* as the "old men's house." They stay away. One of the cronies of Rynamona put the

517 matter most clearly when he described the old men's gathering
573 from its members' point of view:

> 887 It wouldn't suit [for the young men to come]. They gather in at Jack Roche's and they laugh and joke and play cards. They talk about the next gamble and the next dance, and that is all they know. It is a lot of codology [nonsense, buncombe]. It is only the old men, the men with families and a responsibility on them, they are the ones that come. And in our own way we learn a great deal. If you advance any argument, you must be prepared to defend it from all attack, and John Roche, "the public prosecutor," will ask you questions till he is sure it is right or wrong. Then some evening we have real discussions in which we settle problems. Other times we discuss farming. It wouldn't suit for the young men to come in, but, when we get old and they get married, then they will gather and talk about this and that. That is the way it always has been and that is the way it always will be. There is never any bad blood between any of the village, and one reason is because we talk things over.

This statement on the old men's gathering imparts a deeper reality to what appears to be merely a companionable pastime of the old men. The evening *cuaird* of the old men takes on an institutional flavor. It is a clique, of course, a tightly knit group of males of similar interests and similar status, giving rise to nicknames within itself which, as in the case here mentioned of the public prosecutor, express the members' position in the internal arrangement of the group. It has a definite meeting place and meeting time. It excludes those of dissimilar traits; in this instance, the young men. But it is a clique which operates within a traditional setting: "That is the way it always has been and is the way it always will be."

It is a clique, too, which performs a function for a larger group than those who make it up. In this case it is claimed for it, at least, that it prevents bad blood in the local community.

**1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940**
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## CHAPTER X

# *The Old in the Community*[1]

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LET us examine the life of a local community in the rural "West of Ireland" and put to the test of observation the claim that the clique of evening visitors among the old men of the community plays a decisive role in its social life. Perhaps Rynamona already mentioned affords the best example. Yet any other community the authors knew well would afford as good a one. In all of them the old men met in much the same way and, in spite of different names and persons, acted in much the same way to form a similar old men's clique. By taking the example of Rynamona, we can throw the generalities of this conduct into relief.

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Rynamona is a medium-sized townland in the limestone country of North Clare. It is like many another in the "good land" of rough limestone outcrops stretching back from the sea into the glaciated lakes strewn north in County Clare. To reach Rynamona is no easy task, even for horse and car. The main road north out of Corrofin to Kilfenora passes through Kilnaboy, where twelve houses, a school, a chapel, and a post office are all that remains of an antiquity preserved to the eye only in the ninth-century church and graveyard.

There, beside the graveyard, a side road leads off toward

[1] Much of the material in this chapter is taken from *The Irish Countryman* (London: The Macmillan Company, 1936), by Conrad M. Arensberg. It is used here by permission of the publishers.

[p. 181]

361 Glanquin Mountain and the hills of Burren beyond. Along
491 it one passes through ragged upland for a mile and a half.
This is Kilnaboy Commons, and its many small fields bear
[311] witness to its having been a refuge of the evicted, laboriously
cleared of stones. The upland is not high. It merely gives rise enough to start a half mile of gentle slope downward into a basin filled with a little lake. Rynamona lies round the lake.

311 The fields here are cleared, too, and cut up between with limestone ridges. But the grass grows richly among the crags and ridges. The farmers are a fairly prosperous lot.

361 Eight of their houses stand in an irregular cluster on the
621 lake shore. This is Rynamona village. Five others are
471 scattered through the fields and across the lake. These
households and a few more a little further off make up the community. These are small farms of the kind we met in Luogh. No one has more than nine cows; and only one has fewer than two. Except for the eight houses huddled in the village, fields and meadows stretch away from the haggard gate. In the case of the villagers' holdings, the arrangement is not much different. Their fields are scattered about and behind their haggards in irregular patterns. In addition to these fields, most of them have several acres, carved out for them by the Land Commission on an estate about two miles off.

621 Rynamona is a closely knit community. Reduplicated
476 bonds of kinship unite all the households. "We are all related
653 one way or another," they describe it. Cooring is the
441 usual form of coöperation, and the village as a whole holds
itself responsible amid grumbles for the maintenance of the borheen (road) which leads out to the outside world of the towns. Nowadays the County Council pays the sons who break stones and lay them in the winter months, but the
621 village still assigns a bit of the road to each householder.
487 Small matter if the borheen is bad, for a well-trod maze of

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[facing p. 182]

A VILLAGE ON A HILLTOP WITH ITS GARDENS AND PASTURES

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487 paths crisscrosses the fields in all directions from house to house and across the countryside beyond.

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573 Old man O'Donoghue's house, the third in the village, is the "old men's house." Mrs. Ruin, a neighbor, will tell you what the old man means to the men of the village:

> The old man is getting weaker and when he is gone out of it the village won't be the same. He will be the greatest loss. It is round his fireplace the men gather. Where will they go when he dies?

But the question has not yet arisen for the men who meet there nearly every night, particularly in winter, when the evening is long and the work day its shortest. Soon after the evening meal they begin to gather. Occasionally this or that habitué may not come, but it is always the same group of men who stride across the threshold with a "God bless all here," and take their accustomed places.

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592 O'Donoghue has the place of honor in the chair to the right of the fire. He is an old man now and no longer active beyond the house door. He lives here with his nephew, a man of fifty, and his nephew's wife. The couple have no children and must depend upon their own efforts in the working of the farm. It is a good farm and the nephew works it well, deferring to the old man in occasional matters.

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521 O'Donoghue is the "judge" in this gathering. In the nightly discussions which take place around his fireplace, he has a judicial role. He is regarded as a wise man to whose opinions all must defer. Usually they know he contents himself with a word of affirmation, or now and again a slow and measured judgment upon a current topic. He initiates nothing and only occasionally adds a non-judicial bit to the conversation. Then he shows himself to have a fund of funny and apt anecdotes as good as any other man's. He rarely generalizes. When he does, his remarks deal with the "old times."

Silent as this shrewd old man is, his is the central position

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573 521 in the group. Comments and questions are phrased through him. He takes the preferred verbal bit and passes it on among the others. And when agreement is finally reached, it is his quiet "So it is" that settles the point for good.

573 O'Halloran sits on the hob across the hearth from him. He is the "drawer-down" in the scheme of jocular titles which includes most of the group. O'Halloran is a man of fifty but mature. He owns a farm a little better perhaps [592] than most, just beyond the village. He works it with his wife and six children, the eldest of whom is nearing twenty. As he has no parents left alive, he is the "old man" and the man of the house. But individually he is more. "He has a [484 446] great head on him," they say. He has had a somewhat wider experience, once having traveled as a salesman over the roads of southern Ireland. Yet, in spite of the fact that he is occasionally a little skeptical and his politics are somewhat suspect to the villagers, who are today De Valera men to a man, he is emphatically one of them.

573 521 His title of "drawer-down" is an apt one. O'Halloran seeks information. He most frequently of them all brings up points of interest and questions of the day. These he addresses to O'Donoghue, who passes them on for general discussion. Like all the rest of them his illustrations are apt and his anecdotes definite and precise, but his chief role is to "draw the talk down" to common levels of interest which allow all to take part.

573 521 589 O'Loughlin usually occupies the other hob. He has no real place here. He is a bachelor, aged fifty or so, and, though he comes here, he has little to say. He is seemingly silent all the time, and he breaks his silence only to add to unanimity. For O'Loughlin is very poor and lives alone. Having no family, he can neither coor nor work his land to best advantage. And occasionally he works on the road, breaking stones with the boys of the village. Just as he has no voice here, he has no title either.

Roche, "the public prosecutor," sits by the fire, opposite 573
the old man O'Donoghue. He is a man of sixty or so, with 521
a wife of the same age and an unmarried son and daughter, [592]
both in their thirties, still at home. His is a good farm and
he is still active upon it. He, too, has a reputation for shrewdness, but his role here is a different one. Roche demands "why?" He makes one bring out one's best arguments, and pursues a point to its final conclusion. There his interest stops and he makes way for O'Donoghue, who sums up the agreement of the group. Roche earns his title well. He tests out the other's mettle. No one is offended at his "prosecution," for it clears the issue and brings out the right and the wrong upon which all can agree and O'Donoghue phrase judgment.

Behind them, a little further into the middle of the room 573
away from the hearth, sits Cullinan, the "senator." Cullinan 592
lives across the lake, where he works a middling farm with a wife and five children. Several of the sons are nearing twenty-five and Cullinan himself is well past fifty.

The "senator" is a weighty man. His part in the *cuaird* 573
is in character. Cullinan is the one of them most fertile in 521
cogent and fitting anecdotal illustrations. In a scheme of references, such as this, to past events and traditional precedents, Cullinan's many memories of persons and happenings, slowly and accurately phrased, give weight to the evening discussions.

Still further behind them, and often perched upon settle 573
or table in the kitchen, are two other habitués. The elder 592
of them is Noonan, a man of sixty, who lives in the village with a wife a little younger than himself and two boys and a girl, out of a once numerous progeny still at home. The children are in their twenties and help him in his still active conduct of the farm.

Privately at least, the others think Noonan a bit of a fool. 573
He is as good a farmer as any of them, it is true, and knows 521

573 521 how to drive a shrewd bargain. But his role at *cuaird* is not a weighty one. Noonan is a very voluble man. He can be counted upon at all times to enliven the gathering with many opinions on all subjects. His volubility makes him more vulnerable than the rest to the public prosecutor's relentless logic, but it helps too to keep the conversation alive and active. Consequently, though he has no important title, he is a member of long standing.

573 592 [582] The younger of the two sitting in back is John Quin. His position is a little anomalous, though he is a Rynamona man by birth and blood. Quin lives on a good farm just outside the village. He married-in there, taking over the place of a dead husband. But, true to the country custom, it was not the widow he married. She brought in a sister, who, in turn, married Quin. But both women are still living in the house. The elder sister has become the "old woman" and is treated more like a parent than a contemporary. It is Quin and his wife, the younger sister, who work the farm and who regard it as their own. Their claim is a perfect one, were it not for one misfortune: they are childless at fifty.

573 561 Quin is thus neither fully a young man nor fully an old one, as the countryside reckons age status. His place in the evening gathering reflects this intermediate state. In the two years in which the authors had the old men's house at Rynamona under observation, Quin was going through a transition. It was one which he could not describe himself, but which showed itself well in his behavior.

573 561 521 When we first came, Quin divided his evenings between the old men's house and card playing in several of the young men's gathering places. At one of these, to be described shortly, he was an important figure. His pronouncements were listened to with respect. He had "weight," and he conducted himself importantly and showed a serious demeanor and a little disdain for frivolous pursuits. In the

old men's house he looked a different person. He was often 573
silent or contented himself with answering questions. 561
When he did speak, it was to "act the playboy," in the 521
country phrase. It seemed to be a periodic fluctuation with him. One evening he would be silent and the next he would be more than ready to joke, to render a song, to dance, and to break into playful banter. Sometimes his lively efforts were successful. Sometimes they were not. But the playboy role did not last long. A year later he was a constant visitor, and he had given up all other visits. He had moved in. O'Donoghue, the "judge," passed judgment one evening which affirmed his new place. "He's a bit of a playboy," he said, "but there's a good head on him."

These seven men make up the old men's *cuaird*. As the 573
evidence of their behavior shows, they are a closely knit 887
clique with a code of conduct and valuation of their own, one strong enough to enforce a specific personality on each of the members in accord with his role in the group.

To appraise the *raison d'être* of such a group in Rynamona, we must examine it in relation to the rest of the community. These seven are not the only old men in the community. Roche, the prosecutor, had an elder brother with a good farm across the lake on the line between Rynamona and the next townland, Carhunamadra. But the elder Roche is seventy-five and no longer stirs out the door. He is too feeble to come to the *cuaird* house, and his faculties are failing. His sons, still young men, work the farm.

But there is another as well, a more active old man. Moroney is perhaps the strongest farmer in Rynamona. His house in the village is the best also, and he has the best-
stocked farm. Moroney and his wife, at sixty, have a son [592]
and daughter nearing thirty still at home. The four work energetically and the household is prosperous. Each year Moroney stands for them in the "station," and the family's

573 dues to the church are greater than any other's in Rynamona. Such prosperity draws him a bit apart from the
587 villagers, and occasionally in political discussions he will identify himself with the Cosgrave party, as a man with a "stake in the country."

All this draws Moroney away from his fellows. Some say there was an incident long ago when Moroney was young, but most have forgotten it. Nevertheless, there is a breach between Moroney and the rest of the older men of the village. He never attends at the old men's house and, when he goes on *cuaird*, it is usually to the house of Oscair, whom we shall describe presently.

Furthermore, just as not all the old men of Rynamona came to O'Donoghue's, so are their households unrepresented there. Unlike the cases of the elder Roche and Moroney, it is because in these other cases the men of the house are not eligible in age.

573 Two houses in the village send no man to the *cuaird* house. One of these is very poor and is a case of the "incomplete farm family" already discussed in a prior section.^ The only man there is a lad of twenty-five or so, who lives alone with his mother. Another of these is the case of O'Brien, a man of forty, married and with a family of children, the eldest of whom, a boy, is fifteen. O'Brien is a man of uncertain temper, given to gusts of anger. He is a moody man who doesn't do much or go out much. When he does, it is to the young men's gambles. Like John Quin, already described, he is in a transitional state, but he does nothing to hasten his advance.

Among the households beyond the village, one, that of Mackey, is likewise in transition. But with Mackey the process is hardly begun. His parents are dead, but he has only recently married and sent off a brother to the towns. He still visits with the young men.

The same holds for another family of Roches. The man

^[i.e., farms worked by spinsters, bachelors, widows and widowers—Analyst]

of the house is only a few years married. His brother is as 573
yet unprovided for and still lives with him. Both frequent young men's meetings.

The old men's house includes all the adult farm fathers 573
of complete families whose children have just succeeded or 621
are nearly ready to succeed them, with two exceptions. It 208
brings in, too, two others, O'Loughlin, the silent old bachelor, 887
and John Quin, whose status among the old age group is still provisional. The interviews already quoted have given an insight into the function this meeting performs for the community. The behavior of the group points again to the same function. This is the seat of judgment in the community. It is the clearing house of information and the court of opinion in which the decisions of the community are reached and the traditional knowledge of the peasantry applied and disseminated. From these meetings the men return home to their wives and sons, and the formulations they have reached spread thus through the community of individuals who share life in Rynamona.

Let us examine the type of topic that comes up in the old men's meetings. If we want to assure ourselves that the meeting has the influence its members ascribe to it, a glance at the conversation that takes place there should bear them out.

The old men's meeting is an informal gathering. It arises 573
in response to the community's interests and its immemorial 887
custom. Naturally, different personalities and personal idiosyncrasies make the gathering slightly different in each rural community. Occasionally it may be absent altogether for various causes, such as the dying-off of a central member of the group. Often there is a sort of interregnum between one generation of old men and the next. This was the case in one Clare community studied by the authors. There the old men had lost the central figure of their group and, diminished in number, spent most of their time in enfeebled

887 loneliness at home. Two new cliques of slightly younger "old men" were competing for central position in the community.

573 521 208 626 887 But despite such variation from community to community, the old men's *cuairds* act very similarly. The topics brought up and debated upon are much the same from year to year and place to place. First in importance, however, are those concerning agriculture. Times of sowing, reaping, harvesting are debated; the merits of various seeds are disputed; shop and fair prices are compared; and the community's trade often affected thus. The "old men" are conservative farmers, as are most peasants, and an innovation must be thoroughly tested before it wins, here in the evening *cuaird*, the approval of the community. Traditional methods of farming receive their strongest support here in the web of legend, proverb, and reference to the past that the speakers weave around them.

Much of the community's relation to the outer world is debated here and determined by the old men's agreement. In late years, this has come to be called "politics." It is here that petitions for roads, for relief work in winter, for extension of agricultural prize schemes, and all the "political" business of the county council and its committees originates on the side of the local community. It is here too that the community reaches its unanimity in party voting. In Rynamona, for example, it was felt that it was in the interest of all that there should be no dissension on the score of politics. The old men's *cuaird* debated the matter and agreed upon support of Fianna Fail, the De Valera party, an allegiance it held for the years 1927 to the time of the authors' visits. Even O'Halloran, whose private views leaned in another direction, begged the authors that no word of his political heterodoxy be allowed to reach the ears of his neighbors. "I wouldn't want them to think I wasn't with them," he said.

Here it is too that the community makes its appraisal of 573
its own members and those with whom it is in contact. And 521
that appraisal tells quite heavily in the behavior the community
will adopt toward the person or condition appraised. 208
Even the priest finds each of his acts and even his sermons 626
discussed and debated in the evening *cuaird*, and he "gets a 887
name" according to the decision reached. In Rynamona an
incident occurred which shows the type of slow appraisal
the community makes and the speed with which, once its
judgment is formed, it puts its decision into action. Not far
away in the same general region, a gentlewoman moved
back after years of absence to a small manor house which
the family had had for many years. She was unknown to the
farmers and, despite her friendly interest in them, seemed
to be unable to establish contact with them. This distressed [674]
her, the more that her kindness seemed ineffectual in putting
an end to the inevitable petty pilfering which she knew
she must expect. One day, about a year later, her horse
bolted on the country road. An expert horsewoman, she
soon brought him into control. Thereafter her luck with
the country people changed. Her exploit had made the
rounds of the local community and had won approval for
her. The old men agreed she was a grand lady and had a
great hand with horses. And the petty pilfering sank to
manageable proportions.

The community regulates its internal affairs through the
*cuaird* as well. It is here public opinion is formulated.
There is nothing formal about the decisions made upon the
incidents arising from day to day. The local community
has no implement with which to enforce its will. But it has
the power of gossip and in action the power which in the
critical days of the land agitation won itself an international
name: the boycott. 573

In a later section the sanctions the local community 626
exercises will be discussed. It is sufficient here to point out 208
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573
626 this role of the *cuaird*. An example from another com-
208 munity than Rynamona will throw the type of action it
887 can take into relief.

An "incomplete family" affords the example. It was made up of an old woman and her thirty-year-old son. Theirs was a poor farm, and ordinarily they would have been an object of commiseration. But they were not. In fact, they were a constant annoyance. The son was generally regarded as bad and lazy. He neglected his farm and exhibited an obstinate disregard of village opinion in which his mother abetted him. The result was, naturally, that their house was shunned and he went nowhere to *cuaird*.

But no crisis arose till the episode of the pig. One autumn the son brought home a large Irish white sow. The sow was more nimble than most of her kind, and neither the mother nor the son took any pains to keep her at home. She wandered through the village at will and soon devastated many a cabbage patch. The village took alarm, and the more so that the sow might well prove dangerous to young children. There were angry words among the women, and the men for once backed them up. In the *cuaird* it was hinted that the sow might be found dead one morning. But before such an event could take place, the son took warning and sold the pig. "Public pressure," if you will, forced his decision and resolved the conflict, but it left him as low as ever in the village's esteem.

573 And lastly, the *cuaird* is the seat of traditional lore and
887 entertainment. Its members are the repositories of folklore
538 and legend. And the official belief of the countryside finds its expression and its reaffirmation in the discussion of events and the recounting of histories and incidents. In communities still at least partly Irish-speaking, such as Luogh, most of its members are *seanachaidhthe*, storytellers in the traditional vein. And it is among them that traditional repertories of a saga, folk tale, song, and legend still get an

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audience. The point of importance here is that it is among 887
the old people that folk myth and folk belief are preserved 538
and expressed for the community.

If we are to examine in full rural behavior based upon 571
age and its connection with the old adult clique whose 517
function in the community we are assessing, we must offer
some contrast with the behavior of other age groups.

We have already mentioned that the old men's house in Rynamona was not the only seat of visiting after the day's work, and that the entertainment provided there was merely one instance of many gatherings taking place almost nightly, at least through the winter, in rural communities. In the statements given by older men about the meeting of the young men we have seen something of the manner in which other pursuits than those of the men's house are regarded.

Indeed in all the communities which came under the authors' notice the young men were as ardent evening visitors as were the older men. In Rynamona they were no less so.

There they gathered in most often at the house of Roche, the "prosecutor." They did this from long habit, as did their elders. But they had no larger justification for their doing so. They went because "you never feel the time passing when you're in with the boys." But there were marked differences in their meeting. There was no central clique so closely integrated as that in O'Donoghue's house. There were pairs of lads, brothers, friends, and groups of three and four and five who habitually played cards or walked the roads together.

A greater difference lay in their complete lack of concern
with the affairs of the community. One could get them to [521]
talk only about their own plans or the trials of their own
kind and age. There was no debate, no reaching of decisions, no appeal to tradition. The skills upon which those taking part in the meetings prided themselves and for which

571 they received their nicknames were of other sorts. Not even
517 farming occupied a large share of their conversation, keen
as their rivalry in the matter often was while work was
going on.

571 Taking these matters in order, the young men who met
517 at Roche's house met habitually there for card playing.
524 Roche's unmarried son, a man about thirty, was perhaps
the central figure. His cousin, another Roche, was the brother of a young man just married, who took part in no *cuaird*. This cousin helped work his brother's farm. He was another central figure. The group that formed itself round them included most of the young men of Rynamona between the ages of twenty and thirty. They played the usual games of the Irish countryside, "forty-five" and "nap," often far into the night.

571 Roche's house was the more informal center. It took in
517 the younger men. But there was present in the community
a custom somewhat more organized, namely, the "gamble."
525 As often as once a week a gamble is held in or near Rynamona. Each household, as its turn comes, throws open its doors to the card players. Admission, usually a shilling, is charged and goes toward defraying the expense of the supper of bread and tea for all and toward the prize. What is left after those charges are met belongs to the householder. Often this amount reaches a profitable figure, and, where the custom is firmly entrenched, a certain commercialism shows its head.

But the gamble is a sporting event. Teams, often formed of habitual associates in card playing, are pitted against one another in one form of the gamble. In another, individual high scorers win. The prize is usually a turkey or two geese, even a bonham (young pig), a side of bacon, or a calf. Elab-
[555] orate rules and canons of honesty govern the play, the
conduct of the players, and the obligation of the person offering the prize. Play is serious and intense, and the win-

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ner of the prize can count himself a proud man, for to be known in the countryside as a "great gambler" is a coveted mark of shrewdness and skill. 525 [555]

The older men seldom attend the gambles. They are the province of the young. For the latter, they are a crystallization of the more informal card playing, such as that at Roche's house, already described, and they give the successful young men a prestige in the community ordinarily denied them. For in late years tournaments have sprung up covering whole sections of the county and it is a proud team which can bring back a five or ten pound district prize to its home community. [887] [554]

From the standpoint of an enumeration of those taking part in the gambles, too, the gambles show themselves to be such a crystallization. They bring into association on more definite occasions the groups, such as that at Roche's house, which meet habitually. They unite most of the young men, especially the more active among them, with a few of the older. But it is from the young men's world of habit that their union is created.

In Rynamona the young men who gathered nightly at Roche's house were the mainstays of the gambles. They could be counted upon to attend all of them. They played well and long, as they had learned the games among themselves. But they were not the only ones to come. Most of the slightly older men of what we shall call the intermediate *cuaird*, to be described later, such as John Quin, the newcomer to the old men's house already named, came from time to time, and there was always a sprinkling of young men, kinsfolk, and "friends" from near-by communities. It was only the members of the old men's house who stayed away. They alone had given up the habits of young men. To them the gamble was "codology."

Thus the first point of difference between the visiting habits of the old men and the young men, their lack of cen- 571 517

571 tral clique, is not without wider interest. The young men
517 are more numerous, and they group themselves together as
much as do the old. But it is upon a different basis. It is a
synthesis in a looser, more widely inclusive, gathering which
[573] unites smaller cliques of brothers, friends, and boon com-
panions. The gamble is only one of many entertainments
571 they provide themselves. Equally frequently they hold a
517 dance. The country dance is undergoing change in rural
535 Ireland today, but it is still much as it was in the last century, although it may not enliven the country districts as often as it did. Irish square dances, jigs, and flings, most of them variations of sixteenth-century European dance forms, are most common, although some Gaelic-speaking districts preserve an older tradition.

621 The country dance belongs to the young people. It differs
from the gamble, from the standpoint of participants, in
535 that it unites both sexes. In most communities it is an
517 affair in which the whole community takes part, the old people as onlookers, the young and the still spry among the older ones as performers. In late years the more formal "all night" dance, an organized dance for which admission is charged and from which the older people are usually absent, has made its appearance. Like the gamble it draws from a wider area.

517 But there is a good deal of the spontaneous dancing which
springs up wherever the young people of the community
535 gather even today. The young men and women learn the skills required and value them. There are elaborate codes of etiquette round them and a wealth of proverbs and jocular superstitions. But here again, unlike the behavior followed in the old men's house, these conducts have little larger purpose than uniting the scattered cliques of young people. They are recreations. They are ends in themselves. They are good times that pass the time.

517 The gamble and the dance do not, of course, exhaust the
571 list. The young people have other activities, games, sports,

contests, and playful roles of solemn occasions, such as acting 517
as strawboys (mummers) at weddings. But all these activi- 571
ties, in which the old members of the community do not directly participate, are alike in their playing no great part in organizing other elements in the community than the young people themselves. They serve other functions.

All these activities bind the young men, the young people, together in common interests. They provide them with a scope of action in which they are comparatively free, yet which keeps them divorced from the seats of a power over community life which is denied them. In this sphere they may develop complex norms, valuations, and conducts.

But such developments do not serve primarily to knit the 517
community as a whole the more firmly. They are associated 571
with the lesser prestige of the young people. Consequently, 621
the old men's house comes to have in contrast a double 888
function. It unites the old men in much the same way as 554
the gamble and the dance unite the young men, in fact 182
even more strongly. But it does so in terms of the old men's common position as recipients of the respect of the community and in terms of their individual positions as integrators of their families. The difference is structural. The activities of young men unite them across family and clique lines even from one community to the next. But those of the old men do more; they unite young and old as well. The integration of the young men is a looser and less inclusive one, even though the numbers ephemerally joined in gamble and dance may be greater.

In such a system of integrations, that of the old men has 182
the greater prestige. A great gambler or a great dancer wins 888
wide respect. But the distinction is short-lived. It is a nine 554
days' or a nine years' wonder. It bestows great prestige 621
among one's fellows, but it removes one very little, if at all, from one's subordinate, less valued place as "boy" in the community.

Where such is the case, the individual's progression

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554 through rural life under normal circumstances is not toward
621 a greater and greater prominence in the activities of the
888 young men's group. Rather, there comes a time when one
must break away altogether. One faces perforce a new orientation of sentiment and a new kind of behavior. Growing old brings many more changes than the physiological.

888 The case of the newcomer, John Quin, already described,
573 shows the necessary changes. In Rynamona it is brought out
885 very clearly in the clique to which he first belonged and
554 to which we have referred at various times, calling it once
the "intermediate."

The clique we name so met at the house of one Joseph
[551] McMahon, more commonly known as Oscair (the Hercules
of Irish saga) for his physical strength. Oscair was a rural carpenter with only a very small plot of garden and his house. But he was a good singer, a jokester, and a repository of folk tale, though he was not much past forty. He lived just at the edge of the slope leading from Kilnaboy Commons down to Rynamona. The townland was what would be called in urban sociology an "interstitial area." It was higher, rougher, and more craggy than Rynamona and Kilnaboy, lying between them. Its inhabitants were descendants of people evicted from round about who had squatted there. Most of them were "died out and left," and the place was always poor. It acted as a sort of outlying fringe of Rynamona.

The men who collected round Oscair's fire were aged thirty-five to sixty. Just as their ages were intermediate between fully old and fully young, so was their habit here. They very seldom played cards. Talk was the order of the day, enlivened by Oscair's humor and ballads. A few of them spoke of the affairs of the village with some weight. The rest did not. Those who came were as follows:

a. Young Mackey, from the village, the man recently married, still too young for the old men's house.

b. Moroney, the sixty-year-old, "strongest" (richest) farmer of the village. One of the few who spoke with weight. 888 573
c. Young Roche, son of the very old man, still unmarried but entirely in charge of the farm he would soon inherit. 885
d. O'Sullivan, a herdsman, from near-by, who was a stranger in the community but had won himself a place, despite his being a landless man of sixty-five, by acting as the local veterinarian. He spoke, too, with weight. 554
e. John Quin, already described, who spoke here with weight.
f. Two forty-year-old Pilkington brothers, unmarried, from the Commons, very small farmers, most often silent.
g. Oscair himself, whose role was to entertain.

Of these men it can be seen that only Mackey, Moroney, and John Quin could make the transition to full farm-owning, farm-father status of old men. Mackey had years to pass before he could so do. His eldest child was very young and he himself not long in possession of his farm. John Quin, in a somewhat anomalous position, could and did move onward. In doing so, as we described, he felt it necessary to break away completely from this group. This he did, with the result that the group, itself never stable, fell to pieces. Moroney, as we remember, had a disagreement with the villagers and would not attend the old men's gatherings.

What was it then that brought these men together? The authors could get no answer from the men themselves, other than their amusement with Oscair and, in Moroney's case, a guardedly phrased dislike of the villagers. Yet, through observation and interview in the community, it became clear that they were all passing through a similar transition. Oscair's visitors were not a stable clique, nor too faithful in attendance. Both young Roche and young Mackey were still going occasionally to the young men's meeting at the other Roche's house, but both felt too great responsibilities for gambling and cards. John Quin gambled heartily enough

888 but was more and more impatient with the "playboys" of
573 young fellows. Old Moroney was gruff and lonely. The
885 others were neighbors of Oscair's and, being poor or land-
554 less men, felt awkward going elsewhere. O'Sullivan could visit as he pleased, for, as the local "vet," his word carried weight, but, always a stranger in sentiment, he felt most at home here.

The intermediate clique was a product of similarity of interests, in contrast to the interests of other better organized groups. Its members were in some way or another a little different from the ordinary old or young of Rynamona. Some of them were remote topographically, but not all. Some were without full community status, but not all, and some of a transitional age.

Oscair's house was thus a sort of catchall for those whose position in Rynamona was not clearly defined. It was intermediate between the clearly defined groups, and for the small farmers, such as Mackey, Roche, and Quin, was a halfway stage in their advance from the status of young men to that of old.

The progression of which this is the halfway stage is an upward one, metaphorically speaking. It leads no longer to a greater role as "playboy" but toward full family and community status. It leads to a new behavior and new personal desires, more highly valued. One's discarded status and one's discarded behavior fall away into lesser esteem. In terms of this progression we can understand the attitude of the old men on the behavior of the young ones. It is a transitory, impermanent, unimportant thing. It is a "codology." "When they grow older," one old man said, "and become married, they will meet just as we do."

What shows itself in Oscair's clique is a transitional state. For a moment were gathered here those who could move upward, like John Quin. Gradually, they could attain full status. Oscair's hearth for them was a roadside resting place.

With these intermediates were gathered the representa- 888
tives of another anomalous social place. Both Oscair and 573
O'Sullivan, the "vet," were important figures in the com- 885
munity. Their occupations and their skills won them re- 885
spect and admiration over the countryside. O'Sullivan, the 554
older man, was free to come and go wherever he might wish. But both were "landless" men. They could never attain full peasant status. In the identifications of Irish familism, they were condemned to celibacy. Neither could feel comfortable in the old men's *cuaird*. There was no place for them except, as Oscair's behavior showed, as playboys and entertainers. So they too must occupy an interstice in the structural alignments of rural social life.

# CHAPTER XI

## *Familism and Sex*

162 834 THE small farmers' treatment of sex and the relations of men and women is no less characteristic of their communities than is their treatment of age differences. The country people are the ones among whom marriage is latest in Ireland, bachelorhood and spinsterhood most common, fecundity greatest. They are the ones among whom there is an excess of males over females, a fact which gives all Ireland a sex ratio (973 females to every 1,000 males) unexampled among the long-settled Old World countries and comparable only to those of the new countries. Yet the best evidence gives them a comparatively low illegitimacy rate, too, and the country people yield to no one in the strictness of their sexual morality.

562 834 In the small farm households of the countryside, the roles, privileges, and duties of male and female are complementary. The division of labor between the sexes is only part of separation of human activity into male and female spheres. By oriental standards, perhaps, physical segregation of the sexes may be lacking. Yet in the countryside the community sets very rigid norms of conduct regulating the relations between men and women.

Indeed, the bounds of propriety among the small farmers are quite well marked. An outsider can come to see something of them almost at once. Men and women are much more often to be seen in the company of members of their

own sex than otherwise, except in the house itself. Except 562
upon ceremonial occasions in family life or in the considerable 834
affluence of owning a gig or a trap or a motorcar, in Clare at least they go to mass, to town, or to sportive gatherings with companions of their own sex. Till recently and even now in remote districts, a conventional peasant woman always kept several paces behind her man, even if they were walking somewhere together.

The women do not go out on *cuaird* like the men. Their 562
sphere of interest and influence is better confined within the family circle. Women do not take part directly in the deliberations of such cliques as that described in the old men's house at Rynamona. On the other hand, they are not in the least excluded or treated lightly or in a derogatory fashion. At the old men's *cuaird* the woman of the house is nearly always present. Her being of the company does not seem to stem the flow of talk in the slightest. She remains silent or is ignored so long as their talk deals with the world of the men's interest. But when the talk swings around to her sphere, she is consulted and is ready to take an active part.

The girls, of course, the unmarried younger women and 562
adolescents, keep to themselves and form cliques and smaller 571
groups of neighbors and kinswomen among themselves. 517
Occasionally a dance breaks the ordinary succession of work and evening talk in the kitchen. And then, in their more restricted place, they are ready to go about under the tutelage of parent or brother to meet the young men and boys of the community.

All this is nothing new and has been described before. 561
Yet one must review it, because in it one can see the existence 562
of statuses of the kind we have demonstrated before. Old woman, married young woman, and girl, each term is a status in the countryside, in the same manner as in the cases of the boys and men we have already presented. The

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561 terms are summaries of status in farm economy, family life, and the cliques of the community.

834 Consequently the comment and attitude of the small farmers toward sexual behavior cannot be divorced from their
208 appreciation of status in family and community. For them sexual behavior is merely one aspect, not of individual personality, but of sociological role. If one turns to any record of the sort of commentary and discussion the small farmers carry on among themselves, both in the semi-public discussion of the *cuaird* and in the more private talk of conversation among friends of a common age and status, one encounters a characteristic set of remarks and evaluations. These are for the most part discussions of specific persons in specific events. The attitudes expressed are directed now toward persons, now toward general conditions, now toward moral or ethical imperatives, now toward cosmological principle. Yet always, if sex is the subject, the status of the actors and the interests of the familist farm economy are the themes.

562 Women are valued and praised for their fecundity. All
842 this is part of generally accepted convention among the small farmers, and such conversations as the following are not in the least unusual, despite the very great modesty and reticence of the farmers. A small farmer is praising an old woman, the head of the household, to one of the authors and contrasting her to her son's wife, both being listeners:

> Here is a woman that has no more milk of her own. They shouldn't allow a woman like that to breed because a man should always keep his wife in the milk. The old woman, God bless her, raised every child with the didi [breast].

369 The country-bred boy and girl grow up in an atmosphere of constant reference to sex and breeding. There seems to
831 be little of the ignorance about such matters which the townsman delights so in attributing to country people. In Ireland, no less than elsewhere in the world, the antagonism between town and country often expresses itself in such

joking ascription of ignorance and stupidity. In Ireland, 369
however, there is another side of the expression of town 831
and country distrust. The countryside points to prostitution and immorality in the towns and finds something to back up its condemnations. The town returns its dislike with double measure and accuses the countryside of primitive lack of all sensitivity of feeling or restraint of impulse. But these antagonistic attitudes and ways of regarding other groups than one's own are not our concern here. They are of interest here because such ascriptions of ignorance are part of a common misapprehension of the complexity of the peasant attitudes.

For instance, to an outsider the countrymen will seem 369
often to give a mere lip service to the attitudes of the 834
townsman, for one is always apt to mistake the function of
hearty laughter. The country people have strict moral and 208
ethical attitudes around the question of sex, as rigid as those of any other class if not more so. Yet they have conventional licenses and conventional niceties which do not coincide with those of the other classes and are thus open to misunderstanding. And, like all classes and peoples, they have two sets of attitudes, not one, and these are "ambivalent," to adopt the Freudian term.

But these attitudes and their "ambivalent" nature, the kind of alternation they seem to present, must be understood in terms of the social relationships of the countryside. The greatest single cause of misapprehension lies here. In different contexts, toward different persons, in connection with different events, one and the same person regards the same subjects quite differently.

For example, in discussions of the peccadillos of young 369
people and the censurable events of the district the farmers 834
and their wives were full of animus against the "crabbit" 208
great "bucks" of lads who led girls astray and from whom 522
the innocent were not safe. Yet even then, in discussing the fault of such amorous lads and the necessity of circum-

369 spection and immediate and frequent confession for girls as
834 their best defense, one sees that the pure young maidens are
208 also not without blame. They bear the taint of Eve. "Sure
522 the boys have no chance," said one woman in this respect,
"for the girls always lay the blame on them." Yet these attitudes coexist together with other very hearty, casual, and sometimes ribald attitudes which make their appearance in banter, joke, and repartee even between speakers of different sex. These even take the form of taunts about prowess and mild ridicule for the possession of a greater relish than is meet, or fanciful recitation of past magnificent misdeeds. This is particularly true in the recitations of stories and adventures of persons in the ken of the community, where details of amorous desire and accomplishment are given with considerable gusto, and greeted and reiterated again and again amid hearty laughter.

Certain observers profess to find the puritanical outlook
369 on sexual matters on the increase in the countryside. The
834 country people themselves purport to see a change in their
208 own outlook. And it may be that the last generation has
[178] brought a considerable spread of Catholic moral standards
with the spread of education and the opening of the countryside to urban influence.

In any event the laughter and hearty guffaws with which references of nearly any kind to sexual intercourse, sexual attraction, and childbearing are greeted, and the evident interest they evoke, are very much part of the everyday behavior of the small farmers. They do not imply in any sense an approval or acceptance of the deeds described. They are rather expressions of a very definite judgment. They are in the nature of a condemnation in which laughter is itself a sanction upon the forbidden.[1]

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[1] The authors accept readily the view of laughter as a response to a situation where socially conditioned values are threatened with upset and yet not so deeply or irrevocably broken as to bring out a full reproval. The view is well developed by Pilkington and agrees with that of Max Eastman. The tabloid reader is not

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
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The "earthiness" and the ribaldry of the country people 369
is not an antithesis to their strict moral code. Rather it 834
reinforces it. It gives its pietistic and too-respectable, 208
churchly and town-bourgeois aspects an authentic, indigenous touch. Even more important, it makes for a modification of the conventional attitudes which fit them for the country people's social life.

In this ambivalence of attitude one can see the identifications between status in human relations and norms about sexual behavior more clearly. The one view, that "holiness" denies sex, can be reserved to suit the non-procreant statuses of family life. The other, the hearty and open view embodying animal analogy, frank interest, overt desire, can be reserved for the persons whose roles in social life allow free rein to the amatory and procreative urges.

For the small farmers marriages are for the purpose of 581
producing children and assuring continuity of descent and 833
ownership. They are "forever." They are indissoluble. Sexual relations are part of marriage, its pleasure and its duty. They lead to children if one is fortunate and strong and potent. It is the will of God. One may regret that one's childbearing came so early. There might have been more time for free enjoyment. But it is a regret to which one resigns oneself easily.

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weakening his horror of murder or his distaste for adulterous behavior, however familiar his tabloid-viewing may make them. Similarly the Englishman reading his detective stories and the Frenchman listening to his *chanteuses* are merely indulging vicarious "thrills." All of them are going through a playful rehearsal of the conditioned reflexes of social sanction, indignation, rage, and punitive action in the same way a dog growls and bares his fangs at his play fighting. The idea may seem a bit ludicrous in itself, and it will offend the moralists. But let them remember that in most persons moral and ethical activity is absolutely unreasoned, spontaneous, and without any kind of intellectual support at all. It is pure reflex. Like any other reflex, it must be kept alive by a constant restimulation. Only overzealous priests, reformers, teachers, "nice people," and prudes miss this point. They fail to understand that vulgarity often hides far stricter morality than hypocritic cant. This laughter represents a constant and not unpleasurable reiteration of the accepted canons of morality upon so important a matter.

581 Thus marital and sexual success have but one criterion.
833 One proves one's worth sexually in the marriage bed, which
is in turn the childbirth bed. The proof of happy adjust-
842 ment, of masculine virility, and of feminine worth is "the good long family." "Lots of women have no children," you are told, "but the men have no value in them if they don't." Both man and woman are at fault and in misfortune in childlessness. In one case of repeated miscarriages, the man might be at fault, it was said, because "he usedn't to make them [the children] right."

834 It is only with the married men and women who are still engaged in producing offspring that any kind of sexual interest, officially at least, is permitted or even deemed to exist. Among others in the rural communities the interest either does not exist at all, in the eyes of small farmers, or it exists only as an evil, but powerful force. As such it must be subjected to constant control. This is the case among the young. Among the old, if it exists at all, it is only as a survival of embers that should far better be long dead. For adults, in adult family life, sex is divested of any awesome, evil character. "God help us," said one woman in this regard, "what is natural can't be wonderful."

581 Thus one can see why it is that nearly everything the young people do seems to their elders to shape them for the goal of marriage and family headship. Much of local custom comes to have that explanation. The goal is taken for granted. It is the ambition of all the young members. Their activity either marks time until they shall be able to take their places as married family heads or it prepares them for that directly. Even the pastimes and jollities of country life in the communities the authors came to know had that keynote.

The pastimes of the young people in which the usual segregation of the sexes is bridged point toward matchmaking and country marriage.

Even where matches are made between strangers, some 581
kind of sexual attraction is not to be neglected, and local 584
custom provides for a brief introduction and a setting for
courtship. Several cases came to the authors' notice in which advantageous matches were broken off when either boy or girl expressed distaste for his or her prospective partner, usually when confronted with him or her at the preliminary festivities of the country marriage. Other cases again came to their notice in which a shy suitor could be galvanized into a final decision to take matters into his own hands and press a suit, when his family began to cast around for a match for him elsewhere. Matchmaking was, in fact, far from presenting a scene of "loveless" marriages. The match is a convention like any other. For those who are trained in it, it provides occasion for arousing sexual interest and marital aspirations in young couples quite in the manner of "falling in love" in communities where courtship is more immediately a matter of personal initiative.

And, like any other convention, the match could also come to cloak another situation. The match made by the contracting families is the ideal kind of marriage, for the reasons we have discussed. But it does not necessarily imply any one kind of courtship. In many instances a couple who made their own decision had a match made for them. Even in the case of "runaways," as elopements are called, the boy and girl could often be brought back and a match
made for them. And lastly, as a way of establishing re- [836]
spectability and providing for the movement of the re-formation of the family, even those cases of marriage necessitated by premarital pregnancy could be fitted into the dominant convention.

Thus the forms of courtship and the development of 581
pairings among the population of boys and girls of the 183
country communities must all be understood, even in their 577
most unusual forms, in terms of the dominant pattern of the

581 familistic system and the kind of marriage it entails in rural
183 Ireland. The country people feel this. Their attitudes
577 identify the convention with the whole code of morality and
folkways of their own class and kind.

183 They equate any departure from the accepted norm as a
sin, a lack of religion. They bring the whole weight of all
577 their sanctions and values to bear upon it. They make the
673 ultimate identification between their own norms and the
only right conduct, particularly in this matter so central to the rural familistic system. This final attitude was often addressed to the observers, particularly, but there is reason to believe that it is as often expressed among the country people themselves. In discussions of immorality, illegitimacy, premarital intercourse, the question would arise: Would you believe such a thing could happen in Ireland? In such countries as England and America well it might, for there, the country people hear, the boys and girls just take a liking for one another and go off and marry and "never mind the money." And we remember that in this case the "money" means the re-formation of the entire two families as well.

Even those cases which meet condemnation are likewise often thought to have to do with the dominant pattern. Whether or not the suspicions of the country people are correct, the authors do not know. But they were struck with the fact that so very often in discussions of cases of immorality and unethical sexual conduct the country people made no recourse to concepts of search for pleasure or even of the overpowering force of emotion as explanations of the condemned conduct. Both explanations were to be heard in other classes. Rather, the country people insisted upon looking for a motive in terms of the system of organizing human relations which they understood. The culprits, young "bucks," tried deliberately in such cases to impregnate the girls and force marriages. They were motivated

by greed for land and dowries. Sex without familism seemed 183
beyond the country people's imagination. 577

But the last statement must be qualified in a definite 673
direction. It is only for themselves that they seemed to be
unable or, better, unwilling to imagine a sexuality without
familism. Other patterns of sexual behavior they see and
have heard of, but these are immoral and unworthy ways
of doing things and acting, departures from the right and
normal, sometimes disgusting, sometimes ludicrous, and
sometimes mysterious. In any event they are marks of
standards of a lower class and lesser dignity and respectability
than that of the farmers. They are to be repudiated not
only for their lack of common sense but for supernatural
reasons as well.

Thus the authors heard several instances in which bad 183
luck attended the departure from the usual familistic norm. 777
There was a feeling, sometimes overtly expressed, that at 592
any one time there should be only one sexually active
procreant couple in a household. Young and old could 577
well be part of the household in any numbers, but there
should be only one adult married couple under one roof.
Any other arrangement brought its own punishment and
ill luck.

But more often there was identification between the ex- 183
pression of sexual impulse outside the familistic pattern 577
and the debased conduct of the lower ranks of the landless 832
and disreputable of the countryside, the laborers of the
towns, the runaways, remnants of broken households. Or
else the small farmers put the onus of guilt on other regions
"more backward" than their own. At the most, wrong con-
duct might be the result of some occult compelling force
strong enough to break through all sense and caution. The
authors were struck with the countryside's version of love
charms. In accounts of love charms and love magic, proof
of their existence and efficacy was always to be found in the

183 577 832 otherwise unaccountable cases in which a man or woman abondoned farm and fortune and the favor of friends for a sexual attraction. How else to explain, for instance, an old man's senile infatuation, a young boy's indiscourageable devotion to an older woman who could bring him nothing?

583 A word must be said here of the other ways of bringing about marriage than the formal process of family matchmaking. In the last century, to judge from the accounts of the old people, and to follow the testimony of novelists on Irish life, a stage-managed elopement was often resorted to. It was a semi-respectable kind of marriage. The swain and his friends kidnapped the bride out through the window in the night. They took her away from her father's house to the house of an uncle or other relative of the young man's. There dancing and general jollity reigned, and the young couple were feted. Very often all parties seem to have connived at the result. On other occasions, the elopment was obviously designed to bring about a match to which parents objected or to force parents to a decision. Staged elopements of this kind seem now to have died out in Clare, or at least to be rather infrequent. But the difference between this and a true runaway is slight. In the latter case the young couple take matters into their own hands entirely. Throughout the years many couples have eloped, run off to towns and to emigrate without parental blessing. Others have done likewise and returned to get their portions and a delayed parental sanction. Nevertheless one can see that all these forms are mere modifications upon the dominant convention.

583 581 They too must lead into the familistic pattern. A match must be made, or at least fortunes given and provision for family re-formation made. In cases of premarital pregnancy, the match may be forced or hastened, but it is nonetheless the final and respectable resolution.

Even in cases of illegitimacy, if the mother comes to marry 848
another man than her child's father, a match may sometimes 183
save the day. It serves the social purposes and repairs
the damage, though it removes none of the stain upon one's 581
local reputation. In spite of the strictness of country standards,
many small farmers have married "poor, unfortunate
girls" of this kind, without irreparable loss of respectability.
Yet even then the attitude of the community fits the familistic
norm. Such cases are felt to be very unusual and special
departures from custom. They are matters for some surprise
and congratulation.

The moral standards of the countryside involve a most 183
strict control of the young people in sexual matters. Premarital 836
virginity is the ideal. It is a double standard, of 562
course. The young lads are not, or were not until recently,
expected to be so pure as the girls.

The sexual urges of the older people are deemed adequately 837
satisfied in marriage. Adultery very seldom seems 183
to come into the reckoning of the small farmers. This is
part of the equation of sexual appetite and familistic aspirations.
The country people know something of town prostitutes
and have heard of occasional marital lapses in the
countryside as well. But these matters are not of great interest.
The incidents, as far as one can judge, are of infrequent
occurrence. Marital fidelity is not only the ideal; [593]
it seems to be the fact as well. It seems even to be taken
for granted, and any other course felt inconceivable.

Thus we must look to the relations among the unmarried 834
young couples to see the chief point of pressure in the rural 571
system of values. That is the area in which there is nearly
all the smoke and not a little fire.

Although premarital virginity and complete abstinence from any kind of sexual activity is the ideal for the young, local custom emphasizes marriage all the while. Local dances and other festivities are the chief times of meeting

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571 and play for the young men and women of the rural communities. The customs and conventions which surround them are constant reminders of marriage and its hopes and privileges.

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626 Yet as soon as any intimacy of acquaintanceship builds up between a particular pair, they are matched together in local gossip. They are forced to take a position which is only a single step from betrothal. But, as elsewhere, lovers separate to find others. Though a once or twice fickle or jilted girl is subjected to constant gossip, her luck seems not to doom her entirely if she is attractive or a good match.

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535 Such outings as the "patterns,"[2] relics of saints' festivals, and race meetings in summer, and the dances in winter, are occasions of courtship, excitement, and philandering of sorts in the countryside. They are objects of censure on the part of those of the clergy, townsmen, and people of higher class who unite in condemning more obvious manifestations of peasant social life with little insight into a custom's function. The clergy, in particular, fulminate constantly against all-night dances. They object not so much to the jollities as to the opportunities for "walking out" among the young couples.

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571 The following quotations from country people describe the situation. In the first a countryman is talking about "crabbit lads" who are to blame for local sexual irregularities, and comes around at last to the local dances:

> They are awfully crabbit around here. If a girl has money or land and she will get it, the boys try any way at all to put her up the hill so they will marry her and get it. And the parents keep the girl away from the boys for fear it will happen. But it is no good to keep the girl in the house, because, if you do, she knows nothing. Let her knock away and she soon learns how to take care of herself. If you don't, there are ways the crabbit lads will get to her.

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[2] The local name of country festivals once religious, somewhat like the *pardons* of Brittany.

That was the way with the girl who married Willie Meaney[2] 834
and he thought to get the money, but the parents said let her 571
go. Now they are in Ennis and she never got anything. The
same way with the two who married the Shaughnessy girls. They 535
thought they would get something but they didn't get a thing. Would you believe that? America is not the only place where things like that happen. The people have crosses to bear. Every year we have a talk from the priest about the dances. He says the dances are all right but it is the going home that is bad. There is always a laugh when he says that. Then some of the parents get worried and they won't let their daughters go to a dance for a month or so, and they forget about it after that.

The status of boy and girl involves a "repression" of 834
sexual impulse, virginity, and chastity of thought and ex-
pression, but custom and the attitudes of the older people 183
provide a constant stimulation of sexual interest in the 554
direction of the familistic system. The status of boy and girl thus involves a definite kind of sexual organization, based directly upon social relationships.

Nowhere is this better to be seen than in the case of the young woman's "character." Here the Church fathers and the country people seem to have attained quite a unanimity. Sexual orientation is inseparable from social role. Sexual repute and status are identical. The authors do not say this identification is unique. They do not know its historical origins. But they do wish to point out its function in this setting: The young woman's "character" is her full status as a social being because the familistic system is such that sexual activity, no less than economic, is completely integrated with one's role in social life. Consequently her sexual conduct is no concern of hers alone.

In the relationships in family and community in which the young girls of the countryside find their roles, any departure from the norm of conduct on their part is cause for

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[2] Names of persons and smaller places in this and subsequent quotations are, of course, fictitious and refer to no actual persons or places of such names.

834 183 554 violent disturbance in the relations uniting others to themselves and to one another. To "destroy a girl's character" in the countryside is to upset the pattern of family and community life by overthrowing the possibility of an orderly change in farm succession. Much more than a shooting or a fight, a sexual irregularity, which cannot be righted in a match, is capable of destroying the intricate mutual obligations and expectancies of rural familism.

For the family whose "name" is "destroyed" and whose hopes of orderly re-formation are upset, two courses are open. One is to patch up a compromise, to accept the match
[626] forced upon them. The other is to expel the offenders bodily. Community feeling gives full support. In either case the girl concerned can no longer hope for full status. If the match is made or another husband found to father a child, time may right matters and give her full adult status as a farm wife and mother. Her failure as a girl may be forgotten, but it was a failure still. Otherwise there is little further to do but suffer expulsion. Emigration has been the refuge till recently.

836 848 626 The country people's attitudes toward illegitimacy and premarital intercourse, one and the same to them, reflect well the disturbances they occasion. In discussing a local case, one woman could voice the community's opinion in the following general terms:

> A young lady with a good fortune even, she couldn't get any man because her character is broken. Unless maybe he is very low. And so she usually goes to America and passes for a maiden. Everyone knows the father of the child but, if he has a good farm of land, no one would say anything, but he would be unlucky and have no family. He would get another woman [a wife, that is] with no bother. The baby might be sent to a home. And after a time they bring it home as a cousin.

836 626 But it is not always that the boys are treated so leniently, and they, too, must emigrate, driven off by public censure.

For it is said by country people that "to destroy a girl's 836
'character' is murder." In the logic of the familistic system, 626
the statement is true.

The following incident, described by a countrywoman in a discussion of religion, shows the fate of such cases and the verdict of the community.

> There is no such place as hell. God forbid. No one would be there except a few murderers and a person who destroyed a girl's character. Sure to destroy a girl's character is murder. The C—— girl above was great with a boy who was her second cousin and she couldn't marry him here, so they made it up and he went to Canada, and she would go to the States, and they would meet there and marry. He had to go to Canada because he had bad eyes. They went away and seven weeks later she came back and in a few months had a child. Sure no one knows whether she went to the States or what happened to her. The boy was a red-haired, wild lad, and I often ask his sister above if she has heard from him. She says they haven't but we don't know whether they have or not.
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> The girl put a shame on all people. She isn't married now. Sure who would marry her now that her character is destroyed? The child died after eleven months, and she is living in the house there, and that is why she isn't married. Would you believe such things could happen in Ireland?

The last quotation contains a further consideration. Pres- 836
tige and respectability are bound up with proper conduct
and proper fulfillment of the role in social life one's status 558
gives one. If the girl whose "character" is broken gets a husband at all, she must get one of lower standing in the community. She cannot expect to carry the full prestige of her own family with her, even if she does find a farm into which to take a dowry. As the woman quoted remarked, no one will take her unless he is "very low."

Failure to retain and advance in the status assigned the young of the sexes leads to the same kind of relegation to other cliques and other spheres of social participation as in

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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836 the case of the followers of rural occupations other than the
558 ownership of land.

Even among the country people improper behavior has the effect of declassing the offender. Just as the farmers attribute sexual laxity to the classes of the population they consider below themselves, such as fishermen, tinkers, and itinerant laborers, and the laborers of the town, so, by a reversal of the view, destruction of status over sexual misdemeanor condemns one to membership in such categories.

This declassing effect of sexual misconduct is, of course, strongest for young women. Apart from the moral censure misconduct brings upon a young woman and the shame it inflicts upon the people of her "name," it brings as well the destruction of her social role. It makes an end of her potentialities, for these, too, are her "character": potential motherhood of a familist line on the one hand, and potential transmission of an advantageous alliance on the other. In a familistic order they are identical. They are both based upon her sex. They make of the unmarried girl a sort of symbol of familistic aspiration. To use the symbol for any but its proper purpose of procreation and alliance is to destroy not only its efficacy but the aspirations that are attached to it. Rural Ireland, indeed, provides a sort of archetype or "pure" form of this sexual outlook, the conventional western European ideal of premarital virginity. It is important here as a living function of a closely integrated social system.

834 When we turn to the rural attitude toward sexuality in the old people, all those who have relinquished farm command in favor of a younger procreant couple, the norms of the small farmers present the reverse of the coin. Both rural expressions and rural standards of conduct seem to reflect the attitude that only the married have a sex life or, if others have it, they should not.

The first facet of this attitude shows itself in many kinds

834 of situations. For instance, we have already seen that a woman whose son has married and who fails to get along well with the "new woman" may, quite without censure, move into the house of a daughter and share that house with the daughter's husband's father. Several cases came to notice in which women who had relinquished their farms moved in with the dead husband's brothers.

834 522 A famous joke between a well-loved old priest and his bishop in Clare based on a real incident plays around this last theme. On the occasion of his usual pastoral visit, the bishop congratulated the parish priest on the high moral standard of his parish. He had one reservation to make, however. He was shocked to learn that a couple who had recently moved into the priest's parish were living together openly and were not married. The parish priest caught the twinkle in his bishop's eye, but nevertheless he promised to make an inquiry and take necessary action. Next day he reported that he had learned that the couple were an old man and old woman, brother's wife and sister's husband, who had recently moved into a cottage together. They were both seventy, and had been living in the bishop's own parish for the last ten years. Since the bishop had been so shocked by their taking the house together, the priest said he would send them back and let his lordship deal with the problem as he had been doing before.

In such cases, obviously, the difference of sex of the house-mates as a danger to morality has disappeared. This agrees with the equation many country people seem to make between the "saintliness" of the old and their emancipation from the flesh.

834 522 587 By the same token, the old person who has already had his or her day of childgetting and childbearing, and yet still persists in manifesting sexual aspirations, is a stock figure of fun. He or she is the butt of endless ridicule and practical joking in the countryside. Again, of course, such

834 laughter is best explained as playful censure. For very real
522 censure often breaks out against such a person. It is particu-
587 larly likely to break out into overt punitive action in cases
where old farmers threaten the expectations of their heirs by taking young women as second wives. In fact, the one kind of man or woman of considerable age who does not command respect is this. The countryside finds endless amusement in the theme of May and November. Naturally the matchmaking system does lend itself fairly well to matings between oldish men and young women, since ownership of a farm is the basis for a match.

581 The most interesting point of inquiry, then, may well be
554 the connection between the sexual status of the family mem-
bers, as we have described it here, and the standing of the
183 family. The sexual status of the members is a reflection of their capacity for carrying alliance among the other families of the countryside. Can we draw, therefore, a connection between rural familistic norms about sexual behavior and the class structure of the rural community?

We know already that marriage in rural Ireland yields us one clue to the connection. At matchmaking the negotiations between the contracting parties concern the relative standing of each. That standing is at stake. The equivalence of dowry and land are arrived at through a careful enumeration of all the past history and the present material substance of the contracting families. The location of the farm, its livestock, its soil, the reputation and ancestry of the family, all these are compared. Backward places, we remember, do not grow big fortunes. Neither do many other kinds of persons and places.

We are dealing here of course only with one broad class, the country people. Yet within the boundaries of rural life there is much to be learned of the country people's treatment of relative prestige and standing among themselves. There are many behaviors in the activity of the countryside which express attitudes of social stratification. These do not only express the differences between the country people and outsiders from other classes beyond the confines of the local districts; they have much to do with the intimate details of personal relations in daily life among the small farmers as well. Intimate as they may be, however, these behaviors are nonetheless powerful. Like so much else in rural life, they find their chief expression and their most complete organization around marriage and matchmaking in country custom. In that they are directly a part of the organization of sexual conduct and attitudes among the small farmers.

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From this fact springs the seeming paradox of Irish rural life, already mentioned. A social system centering so strongly round the institution of the family condemns a large proportion of its members to celibacy and long-preserved virginity. The explanation lies in the very paradox. Only through marriage does one attain full stature and one's family take its full place in the interlocking alliances of extended kindreds in the countryside. Failure to make a match is not only failure to fulfill one's own destiny of mating and procreating; it is also, as we have seen, failure to provide for the dispersal and re-formation of one's group. It is also, as we shall see, failure to maintain or establish the alliances making status among one's peers.

Thus it is the identification of sexual behavior with familistic role on the one hand and attainment of status on the other that makes the problems of marriage and sex of such great social and emotional importance.

Their importance is both individual and social. Individually, the powerful dispositions and sentiments concerned give a deep-seated biological and physiological basis to the institutional imperatives and the behavioral norms learned in experience of human relations. Socially, the fact that such a basis can be relied upon gives added strength to the attitudes evoked in support of the social institutions of the

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countryside and an added, automatic sanction to the enforcement, through public and official channels, of the accepted behaviors. In this manner, based upon and reinforced by such deep-rooted automatic reactions of individual conscience, the canons of morality, custom, personal habit, religious teaching, and social sanction form a whole piece all together. To hazard a comparison, let us select other central nexuses of custom, attitude, and emotion, among other peoples. By the process described, sexual morality becomes to Irish society, from the country people with whom we are dealing upward through other classes of society, what respect for law is to English society, what filial piety once was to Chinese society.

Let us now see how this mutual incorporation of sexual, marital, and stratificational standards works out in the experience of the countryside.

In the system of relations we have described, the fate of persons at the hands of their fellows and the repute they bear among them are closely connected. Local standing is, of course, a product of values arising in local experience. Consequently when we come upon the comedies and tragedies of life within a specific community, and hear described by the people themselves the course of events through which these little dramas took place and the impression they made upon the witnesses, we are close to observation of the experience which builds a scale of values and the place of individuals in it. The problem of local repute and public opinion can be reviewed in the light of concrete events and referred to actual relationships built out of behavior.

Thus one can come to see these petty events not merely as personal histories but also as functions of the patterns of organization we have been detailing.

If then we should take up the life of a local community and its inhabitants and search it through for its family histories of recent years, we should lay bare the roots of local

values. Such a study was made in one community studied. 183
Family histories since the famine times were secured from 581
two hundred families of a Clare parish. The histories included 554 farms owned or rented, worked, subdivided, added or lost, in each generation since pre-famine days; names, numbers, sexes, and life-sketches of family members of each generation; occupations of each person not taking to farming; emigrations and the destination of the emigrants in each generation; marriages made in each generation, according to farms married into, occupations of husbands and fathers-in-law, and size of dowry. Much of this material was statistical in form, but along with it a considerable amount of anecdotal material was gathered, describing in detail many local incidents. This information is out of place here; and it will be reported elsewhere. But certain conclusions of relevance to the problem of understanding the social role of marital alliances in the countryside are of importance for the present discussion.

The first of these conclusions concerns the mechanism by which families without farms or with very small and "backward" ones were forced to extinction through celibacy. The second of these conclusions illustrates the means by which alliances made through the matchmaking mechanism provided a channel of upward social movement and incidentally a path of recruitment of the successful children of farmers in the "bad" or poorer lands into the ranks of those of the "good" or better lands.

The first conclusion illustrated by the material of this survey of family histories is one we have already met. Failure to make marital alliances led to failure of family re-formation and hence either to celibacy for all the children or to emigration on the part of the whole generation. In the words of the countryside, if a family could find no one with whom to marry "they died out of it."

Even so broad a question as the disappearance of the class

Even so broad a question as the disappearance of the class
183 of artisans in the countryside comes, for its explanation,
581 under this conclusion. It cannot be understood except in
554 terms of responses to values determined in the relations of familism. The social mechanism by which the local artisans have disappeared – whatever the historic and economic occasion of their fate in the industrial revolution and its aftermath – is something specific to the system of social organization we have described.

The few local artisans who survive today were once members of a numerous group. In the days before railroads and the growth of towns, each local community had its local artisans. Tailors, weavers, carpenters, shoemakers, and smiths followed their lifelong trades and supplied local needs. Their skills descended, like the farmer's farm, from father to son; the trade was "in their blood." Their surplus children have had to disperse to the towns and in emigration. For theirs, too, is a familistic world.

Unless the artisans in the countryside marry within their own fast-diminishing numbers, they, too, must have land and fortune. If they do not get it, they must either marry one of their own kind or stay celibate. Today one finds many survivors of this local class of craftsmen scattered here and there in the countryside. The mere memory of their trade may be all that remains to distinguish them from petty cotters. In the majority of cases they have not married. If they have, without a fortune to transmit, they can find no wives and husbands for their children. Thus the family "dies out of it." Neither alliance nor continuance can be theirs.

The mechanism by which this extinction is brought about is clear enough. Occupational names have emotional significance far beyond their reference to skill and economic
183 function. They are symbols evocative of social stratification,
581 among the small farmers as no less elsewhere.

554 In disputes even within a family, angry reference to ties

outside the family may well be a method of attack. Where, 183
as here, such ties are a matter of one's "blood," the attack is 581
direct and personal. One's status is part of one's person. 554
How close a part it is can well be seen in the quotation of one farmer's account of transition in family relations at the match:

> If the old people don't like the girl, then the mother and the father go to their room and fight with her every day; and if she has low blood in her, they will take her to task for it, if she has weaver, tinker, or tailor blood. If they don't like her they will not work like they used, but go out on *cuaird* and spread the bad news about her.

The familistic outlook gives all this kind of evocation and reference the character of genealogical commentary. Everything one does or is can be referred to one's "blood." Heredity is the explanation of success or failure, high position or low estate. Since one's heredity includes the occupational and other status of one's forbears and the whole gamut of relations which marked their place in the community, a continuity is preserved between the present and the past which defines one fully as a member of one's group.

Consequently, the instances of failure to find wives and husbands, the instances of courtships opposed by parental and other pressures, the instances of elopements ending in emigration, the instances of families of brothers and sisters who stuck together celibate until old age, are far oftener examples of the force of failure to find a mate of acceptable status than of any other cause. The organization of sexual behavior in the countryside is inseparable from that of the stratification of the community itself.

The second interesting point, again one in which the examination of family histories led to an illumination of the connection between the patterns of sexual organization and those of small farmer familism, is in a sense the reverse of the coin.

183 581 554 In these histories, when a countrywoman explained that she or someone she knew had married from bad land into good, or paid a larger dowry than she might have, had she stayed in her own townland, she referred to a movement that was quite readily discernible in her parish. She had experienced, and took pride in, a natural wedding of desire and ambition, which combined, for her as an individual, the instincts of a woman to be wife and mother and the demands of her group's advancement in the systems of familist alliances that made up her community. This was the individual side of the matter. Many indeed were the farmers and their wives who were careful to specify to us how successful a match had been in carrying a larger-than-might-be dowry to better land. One might grumble perhaps about one's lot, if there were anything to grumble over, but in such a case one might be proud that one had assured one's children of a better farm and a better standing than one's own.

166 581 But there was a social side of the matter which showed that this ambition was not a merely personal thing. For in the parish in which we gathered detailed information an interesting statistical movement could be seen. This movement was reflected in the geography of the district.

Marriages since 1864 in this parish have shown a tendency to move brides from the westward out of the poorer lands eastward toward richer farms. The parish happens to lie between higher, poorer soil to the westward and a more fertile area to the east. One must know the local topography and the fertility of the soil to understand the details of the movement. But its over-all tendency is statistically clear. None of the marriages among small farmers and their fellows have taken place (if they took place in the County at all) beyond a six-mile range of distance between the farm married-out-of and the farm married-into. In all cases the movement is small. Yet, small as it is, it shows a distinct tendency. In general, the higher and more westerly town-

166 581 lands of the area made up of this parish and the contiguous parishes are the townlands from which marriages have moved brides outward. These same higher and more westerly townlands are also the ones that have lost population fastest and have been marked by the highest rates of celibacy. Since 1860, at least, families of this area have consistently paid higher dowries to establish their girls on better lands nearer urban and shopping centers. These families have married their daughters along the country roads downward and eastward, from the higher, poorer, more westwardly townlands to the better lands in lower and more eastwardly ones. Relatively speaking, there has been no movement of brides in a reverse direction. By comparison with the better lands, the poorer farms have done without brides for their young men. These poorer farms are the ones, then, who have seen their families "die out of it."

[162] This is merely the evidence from one small parish and its neighbors. But it is instructive that it corresponds with the picture for Ireland as a whole, as the marital statistics of the censuses reveal it. Late marriage, celibacy, the marked preponderance of males in the sex ratio, are all phenomena of the western and poorer farming districts of the country.

161 Neither the establishment of a peasant proprietorship in the years of agrarian reform since the Land War nor the remarkable growth of prosperity among the farmers since the nadir of famine times has had any success in reversing the long-persistent trend of population decline in the countryside. They have had no effect either, it seems, upon the demographic phenomena associated with that decline. Perhaps the reason for the persistence of the trend despite all changes lies in the considerations revealed by the study of the matter in one small parish, as we have just described them. The acquisition of better lands, the growth of a greater rural prosperity, and the opening up of new opportunities at home have gone hand in hand with a persistence

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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161 of social sentiments and forms of social organization shaped entirely within the familism of the small farmers. The new opportunities have appeared first and foremost as means for personal and group advancement within the existing social and familist order.

One could hazard that the census figures represent not an "economic problem" in the sense of a flight from poverty or a fight against its restrictions but the movement of a population seizing upon new opportunities and new prosperity without relinquishing at any point the already existing organization of their social sentiments and habits. In such a view the problems of population decline in Ireland are results not of poverty but of prosperity.

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However that may be, there is a close parallel between the opening of opportunities for education and for rise into the professions, the ranks of business in the Irish towns, and government, all taking place since 1870, and the demography of the small farmer class. The children of the small farmers have flocked through the doors opened to them into every walk of Irish life. They continue to do so today. The towns and their occupations continue to grow and grow, but the countryside does not. The process is one by which the long delays in marriage, the restriction of children to the few who can be well provided for, and the fierce centering of family ambition in the occupational status of its members, more usually thought of as urban, petit-bourgeois phenomena, have spread outward in to the countryside and overtaken the small farmer on his farm. The mobility of a changing, democratized social order, capable of recruiting the ranks of one class from the children of another, has been combined with the fixity, the conservatism, and the rigidity of an ancient and still vital familism. It should be said that Ireland is not unique in this recombination of elements of social organization. She is unique in illustrating so well, in her special way, a social process universal in the countries of Western European civilization.

It has already been pointed out that the census figures 161
available at the time of the fieldwork on which this book is based are those of the Irish census of 1926. Since that time some at least of the figures based on the succeeding decennial census, that of 1936, have become available. There are also a number of annual statistics which bear on the questions of Irish population. It is interesting to turn to these for the light they throw on subsequent development in the trends we have noted.

The release of the 1936 census figures in 1939 showed conclusively that the demographic trends that have marked Ireland since Famine times continue to persist. Neither the years of the establishment of the Free State up to 1932 nor the years of depression, economic war, and the experimental programs of the De Valera regime since then have affected the trends. Any of the charts prepared for the 1926 figures needs only to be extrapolated along the trend line a few points to show the situation of ten years later.

Stated briefly, these trends recapitulate and reëmphasize 162
the points we have already made. Emigration continues to
mark the life of the country, draining the countryside first 166
into the towns and second overseas, now to Great Britain 167
rather than across the oceans. Ireland continues to hold its
record of possessing the highest percentage of unmarried [589]
men and women in the world. The population over sixty-five years of age continues to rise. The population of children continues to fall. Marriages continue to be fertile, by comparison with many other countries. But they still tend to become fewer and fewer, and the delay of marriage into middle life grows longer and longer. The ratio of females to males continues to fall, until in 1936 there were 975 males for every 935 females in Ireland, the lowest sex ratio in Europe and one of the lowest in the world.

These figures mark the continued existence of the fami- 582
listic order we have discussed. They mark as well the continuance of its struggle to fit modern life. Perhaps a figure

582 in the report of the Registrar-General for 1938 gives the best illustration of the culmination of the trends that mark this struggle. In that year slightly over half of all women who married (and only a negligible number of them were not making first marriages) were between thirty-five and forty-five years of age. The problem of delay in marriages seems to be reaching some sort of climax.

161 178 It is interesting to speculate what that climax might be and what future trend of demography it may inaugurate. It is obvious that the conditions these figures point to, rooted as they are in the social order of the countryside and of the nation, are in any case beyond the reach of ordinary measures. They have marked, as we have seen, every Irish administration since Famine days, whether native or not. They are not matters of "poverty" within the reach of immediate economic policies. If "poverty" refers to hunger and an absolute low level of living, the concept does not apply at all. If it denotes rather relative standing within a community of certain values, it has some meaning. But such meaning waits for its understanding on a realization of the form of family and community these values express.

Yet the old cry about a flight from the land has arisen in Ireland once again. Until the outbreak of war in 1939, the population question, linked now with continuing unemployment in the towns and a shortage of labor in the agricultural districts, had become a football of politics once more. The new small local factories of the regime of industrialization now have their place in the controversy. The opposition in the *Dáil* are bitter against a program they believe subsidizes industry at home out of the farmer's pocket, yet leaves him unable to employ the hands his farm requires. The government finds itself in a quandary. To accept the opposition view would be to admit itself responsible for a condition far beyond its control. To put a stop to the program of industrialization would leave the incoming farm

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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sons and daughters with nothing to do at home. It would 161 mean to give up all hope of absorbing them at home. Yet to 178 build the factories is to send into the country districts the very forces of urbanism, such as wage payment, individual recompense, and a job rather than a part in group life, which wean the farm boys and girls away from a familist self-subsistence. Still the farmer of the familist tradition continues to vote the government in and continues to support the factories he must subsidize. For only by some such provision of occupations at home can he provide well for his children, as he must, by ambition and tradition.

There are farmers and farmers in Ireland. The small farmer is by all marks of social life a different person from the "big fellow." It is to be remembered that it is the little fellow who works the familist economy. Only the big fellow normally hires hands. Yet as sons and daughters leave for the towns and the town continues to make inroads on farm life, hired hands must take the vacant places. The migrant children must find new occupations with good pay and a steady hire. The process is one of continuous change at all points in the social order we are tracing out.

These population figures continue to mark, not any single cause or "factor" in social life, but the gradual, generation-slow transformation of an ancient culture, using that word in the anthropological sense. Its central core of familism is offering strong resistance to slow assault. But it changes, and along with it there changes the structure of the community that has been built upon a familistic base. The next chapters deal with these rural communities at the points of transformation: the nonfarming occupations in the countryside and the farmers' markets.

## CHAPTER XII

# *Occupation and Status*

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433 COUNTY CLARE, like other more westerly Irish counties agricultural in outlook, presents a picture in which there is little industrial activity at all, comparatively speaking, other than that involved in agriculture, trading in market towns, and administration and communication. The fact holds pretty generally for the whole of the south of Ireland.[1] Whether the inhabitants like it or not, Ireland has long been peripheral to the huge English industrial centers. It has been little more than a market and a source of foodstuffs. A western region like Clare has been nothing more. Ireland was called not very long ago "England's bread basket." But we have already seen, where economic matters have come up, that such a view of her is a bit astigmatic. Ireland was her own bread basket first, long before she was anything else.

288 178 In rural Ireland outside the large cities, other industrial activity than that involved in agriculture is merely a matter of supply and service, as far as the country people are concerned. The market towns, with their fairs, their shops, their banks, and their artisans and laborers, fill functions entirely distributive in nature.

This has not always been the situation. In 1810 the economist Wakefield found domestic woolen manufacture

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[1] At the time of the authors' study the De Valera government's program of industrialization had hardly begun.

a widespread industry among the country people throughout 288
Ireland. There seems even then to have been quite a 178
widespread cottage industry in wool and linen, later to be destroyed everywhere except in Ulster. The peasantry displayed great ingenuity at the craft. The wool of their sheep was made into frieze at home, carded, spun, woven, dyed,
and consumed there. Oils essential to the weaving process [314
were extracted from fern roots, and dyes were got from 386]
alder, walnut, oak, and elderberry. This craft survives today as a cottage industry only in remote parts of Donegal and Kerry and in the Scottish highlands and isles. Such home-spinning was once widespread, probably universal. It survived here and there down to a very late date. In Ulster and northern England the industry was gradually brought into the factory, where it laid the foundation for the industrial revolution. But in the rest of Ireland industrial production of woolens was confined to Dublin by 1840 and, as a commercial enterprise, the wool trade was dead except in the region of Belfast. A few small factories survived in several towns, for example at Limerick, Clonmel, and Bandon, but there was no life or power of expansion in them.

Other manufactures originally native to the country repeat the story of wool. A few attempts at cotton manufacture died out. Linen suffered the same fate. At one time flax was grown extensively throughout Ireland, and a home industry of weaving linen was practiced widely in both town and countryside in many parts of the country. O'Brien[2] cites evidence that the older custom in linen making, strongest in Ulster, but not unknown elsewhere, by which weavers occupied plots of land and supplemented their income by farming, was gone by the famine time.

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[2] George O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine* (London, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921). See also O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin and London: Maunsel & Company, Ltd., 1918).

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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288 [427] Otway[8] describes the weavers of Drogheda in 1840 subsisting on conacre gardens (plots hired without right other than to the current crop) in circumstances of dire poverty.

433 178 O'Brien sums up his *Economic History* by concluding that the result of the first fifty years of the nineteenth century was that Ireland abandoned all pretense of being an industrial country and came to rely on agriculture to a greater extent than at any time formerly and even than in the eighteenth century. The accounts of Ireland at the time of the famine and after it bear him out. They show a very great lack of any kind of industrial activity other than agriculture.

463 178 The petty crafts of the countryside, which never gave any promise of reaching industrial proportions as those in the town centers might have, suffered a similar decline. But with them the decline seems to have come later and to have been part of the general change brought by the industrial revolution. All the supply crafts of the countryside have now come to be concentrated in the market towns. Nevertheless, through western regions, at least, local craftsmen, often with garden plots to help them eke out a living, seem to have long continued to be part of the local scene. In the novels of Carleton written just before and after the famine, many local shoemakers, cobblers, weavers, carpenters, smiths, coopers, nailers, and other followers of small trades appear. Upon them, the agricultural population depended for much of its tools and goods for local consumption. It is impossible to determine now how many of these were rural, since censuses of occupations before 1926 do not distinguish occupations in towns from those in country districts. But these men were part of the generally greater proportions of country dwellers before the rise of towns and the opening up of the railroads during the last century.

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[8] Caesar Otway, *A Tour in Connaught* (Dublin: W. Curry, Jr., & Company, 1839).

Another very great occupational change, though it does 463 not show itself in any great numbers in census records, has 427 been connected with the disappearance of the landlord from 178 the western counties. A whole series of occupations clustering around the management of estates or the tastes of the local gentry and their families has gradually disappeared. Even the adoption of many of the conventions and habits, once exclusive marks of the Ascendancy, by other classes of the population has not served to stem the change.

If we fasten our attention directly upon determining what 463 occupations are characteristically found represented in the 178 countryside rather than in the towns in Ireland today, we get a picture of rural economy in which the followers of other occupations than farming are few indeed in the countryside. The occupations predominantly rural in Ireland are nearly exclusively those of farm ownership or farm labor. Only in recent years has there been any further development of rural pursuits to take the place of those going out with the changes brought about by modern communication and distribution of factory-made products. The chief of the new influences is not yet represented in full, even in the census of 1926. It is too recent a development. The introduction of creameries had not yet made its mark in that year. Plans for industrialization, since undertaken by the De Valera regime, had not yet even been drawn up.

To get a picture of rural life and the view of technological 463 adaptation which it entails, we can look through the figures 464 for a comparison of urban and rural industry in the years of the study.

Volume VI of the Irish census of population of 1926 entitled "Industrial Status" gives a view of the industries of the whole country and a preliminary view of the chief forms of industrial organization. Though the volume is largely concerned with unemployment, it also contains tables which classify those at work in the Free State accord-

463 464 ing to occupation and employment. It distinguishes between employers (those employing persons for pay in their principal business) and employees (those working for others) and counts the latter by trade or industry or, if farmers' employees, by size of farm in acres. It further distinguishes those persons working on their own account and those assisting relatives. Persons employing domestics only are not classed as employers. Even in keeping these categories separate, the census ran into difficulties. The following statements indicate the troubles met in separating the smaller farmers from those who engaged in non-agricultural occupation and from hired farm labor.

> Large numbers of small farmers and their sons work as agricultural laborers, road laborers, etc., as opportunity offers and many described their 'principal occupation' in the census (1926) as agricultural labor or road labor. (In gathering agricultural statistics in 1927, they were recorded, however, as farmers.) This is the chief reason why the numbers of farmers, male and female, shown in censuses of population were always so much less than the numbers of occupiers of agricultural holdings as compared with the agricultural statistics.[4]

The introduction to the volume then compares occupiers and farmers from figures of 1929 and 1926 respectively, and finding the occupiers much more numerous than the farmers, particularly in Leinster, the writers conclude:

> It is evident that large numbers of small farmers in all parts of the country did not describe themselves as farmers in the census and that this was more common in Leinster than in Connacht, as more employment can be obtained on the large farms and elsewhere in Leinster than in Connacht.[5]

Thus the presence or absence of big farmers in a district seems to have an effect upon the occupational status of the small farmers, in affording them the chance of employment away from their holdings but within their own area. In 463 such cases the small farmers are both employees and em- 464 ployers employing their own families.

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[4] *Census of Population, 1926,* vol. VI: Industrial Status, p. ix.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. x.

In regard to such difficulties the introduction makes the following final qualifications of its own categories of industrial status:

> As regards the numbers returned as employers, persons working on their own account, persons assisting relatives and employees, it should be explained that persons employing domestic servants only were not classified as employers, that persons assisted in business only by relatives who had no contract for wages were classified as persons 'working on their own account', . . . persons working on their own account and persons assisting relatives were classed as employees (e.g., clergymen, nuns), and finally that many employers having small concerns (blacksmiths, dressmakers, etc.) described themselves not as employers as they should have done but as persons working on their own account.[6]

It is clear that, in segregating country occupations from those of the towns, industrial status as defined in the census is less significant than occupation itself.

For the whole country, taking in all industries, there 464 were in 1926 as totals at work and out of work over twelve years of age some 850,000 men and some 341,082 women. Of these, those employing others numbered 62,605 men and 16,509 women, a fairly large proportion for employers. About 232,340 men and 62,949 women worked on their own account, and 196,034 men and 73,062 women were returned as assisting relatives. Employees of others numbered 402,631 men and 176,324 women. The figure for men, at least, indicates that those working for others were less in fact than those carrying on for themselves and families. The same fact is indicated for women, too, but only after the large figure of those engaged in "home duties" (a class which, according to the census, belongs in no indus-

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. xii.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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464 try at all) is included. At the time, 1926, the census recorded 6.9 per cent of men and 3.4 per cent women as unemployed, figures to be added to make industrial totals. The percentages were very low, and by the advent of the De Valera regime in 1931 had increased considerably. However numerous they are, they do not change the industrial picture very much in Ireland. 471 Small enterprises predominate, and very little of the great developments of the machine age is present. The supply and service industries are in a definite preponderance, and in that fact reflect the country's dependence upon its agriculture and agriculturalists.

463 The Census of Occupations is quite different in purpose from that of industries and industrial status and proceeds by different counts. To quote the notes:

> The difference between statistics of occupation and industries must be kept clearly in view. . . . A person's occupation is defined by the operations he performs in earning his living: grainmiller, jamboiler, tramdriver, packer, clerk. A person follows his occupation within a certain industry or service. Some occupations are peculiar to a single industry or service, . . . others are found in very many industries and services. . . .[7]

The Census of Occupations is obviously in many ways an elaboration of that of industries. The two overlap frequently. Yet they are distinct enough to give us an alternate view of Irish industrial activity of great detail. If now we examine this view for what it will tell us of the survival of rural industry, we see again that occupations other than those of farming are very few indeed in the country districts.

463 Table 5 records the occupations of the whole country 369 classed within industries. It lists followers of occupations living in rural districts in the left-hand column and followers of those living in urban districts in the right-hand column. Weighting the figures for all occupied persons properly between towns and country districts, we find that

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[7] *Census of Population, 1926*, vol. II, p. 5.

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## TABLE 5

### COMPARISON OF RURAL AND URBAN OCCUPATIONS, 1926
### IRISH FREE STATE[1]

The table lists in the left-hand column, under the heading "Rural Occupation," those occupations 67 per cent or more of whose followers live in country districts or places under 1,500 population. It lists in the right-hand column, under the heading "Urban Occupations," those less than 67 per cent of whose followers live in country districts or places under 1,500 population. Percentage figures near 67 per cent are usually given; those greatly divergent are omitted. Industrial categories grouping occupations are listed at the head of the occupations. Figures for females of each occupation, and sometimes for males, are omitted if very small.

| RURAL OCCUPATIONS | URBAN OCCUPATIONS |
|---|---|
| *I. Agriculture and Fishing* | |
| Farmers, male | Gardeners and nurserymen, 62% |
| Farmers, female | Gardeners' laborers, 62% |
| Sons assisting farmers | |
| Daughters assisting farmers | |
| Other relatives assisting, male | |
| Other relatives assisting, female | |
| Farm managers | |
| Agricultural laborers living in | |
| Agricultural laborers living away | |
| Woodmen | |
| Other agricultural labor | |
| Fishermen | |
| *II. Mining and Quarrying* | |
| Coal-mining | |
| Quarrying and other mining | |
| *III. Producers, Makers, and Repairers* | |
| a. Makers of Food | |
| Creamery workers, 80% | Employers, managers, 62% |
| | Bakers, pastry cooks, biscuit makers |
| | Sugar, sweet, jam makers |
| | Grain millers |
| | Other skilled food makers, including foremen |
| | Other unskilled food makers |
| b. Makers of Drink and Tobacco | |
| | Employers, managers, foremen |
| | Maltsters |
| | Other skilled workers |
| | Other makers of drink |
| | Makers of tobacco and snuff |

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[1] Based on Irish Free State Census, 1926, vol. II, Occupations. Categories are sometimes not exactly those of the census but are occasionally grouped together for convenience.

[p, 239]

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### TABLE 5 (*continued*)

| RURAL OCCUPATIONS | URBAN OCCUPATIONS |
|---|---|
| **c. Textile Workers** | |
| Breakers and scutchers, 89% | Employers, managers, foremen |
| Knitters, female, 67% | Spinners, piecers, carders, winders |
| | Winders, female |
| | Weavers, 49% |
| | Weavers, female, 30% |
| | Knitters, male |
| | Hand-lace workers, female, 65% |
| | Other skilled textile workers |
| | Other textile workers |
| **d. Makers of Apparel and Textile Goods** | |
| | Employers, managers |
| | Boot and shoe makers, 40% |
| | Cutters |
| | Tailors, tailors' machinists, 50% |
| | Dressmakers, female, 50% |
| | Sewers and sewing machinists, female |
| | Embroidering, female |
| | Other skilled workers |
| | Other workers |
| **e. Workers in Hides, Skins, Leather, not Boots or Shoes** | |
| | Workers in hides, skins |
| | Saddlers, 50% |
| | Other makers of leather goods |
| **f. Workers in Wood and Furniture** | |
| | Employers and managers |
| | Carpenters, 57% |
| | Cartwrights, wheelwrights, 28% |
| | Sawyers and wood machinists, 28% |
| | Coopers, 20% |
| | Basket makers |
| | Boat and barge builders |
| | Cabinetmakers |
| | Upholsterers, coach trimmers |
| | Other skilled workers |
| | Other workers |
| **g. Metal Workers** | |
| Employers, managers, 67% | Foundry workers |
| Smiths, 67% | Motor mechanics, 30% |
| | Cycle mechanics |
| | Mechanics |
| | Fitters |
| | Plumbers |
| | Tinsmiths, sheet-metal workers |
| | Machine-tool workers |
| | Boilermakers, shipwrights |
| | Other skilled metal workers |
| | Other metal workers |

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TABLE 5 (*continued*)

| RURAL OCCUPATIONS | URBAN OCCUPATIONS |
|---|---|
| **h. Electrical Workers** | |
| | Electrical fitters and wiremen |
| **i. Workers in Chemical Processes, Makers of Fertilizers, Soaps, Paints, and Workers in and Makers of Paper and Cardboard** | |
| | Skilled workers |
| | Other workers |
| **j. Printers, Bookbinders, Photographers** | |
| | Employers, managers, foremen |
| | Compositors |
| | Printers |
| | Bookbinders |
| | Photographers |
| | Printing-machine setters and minders |
| | Machine assistants |
| | Others |
| **k. Builders, Bricklayers, Stone and Slate Workers and Contractors** | |
| Foremen and overlookers, 75% | Employers and managers |
| Masons, 75% | Bricklayers |
| Platelayers, 75 % | Plasterers |
| Contractors' laborers and navvies, 74% | Slaters, tilers |
| | Other skilled workers |
| | Builders' laborers, 25% |
| | Other workers |
| **l. Painters and Decorators** | |
| | Employers, managers, and foremen |
| | House, ship, general painters |
| | Painters of vehicles |
| | Other workers |
| **m. Other Producers, Makers, and Repairers** | |
| | Watch and clock makers and repairers |
| | Workers in precious metals |
| | Electroplate workers |
| | Makers of bricks and earthenware |
| | Makers of glass and glassware |
| | Brushmakers |
| | Other skilled workers |
| | Workers in gas works |
| ***IV. Transport and Communication*** | |
| **a. Railway Workers** | |
| | Station masters and railway officials, 50% |
| | Locomotive engine drivers |
| | Firemen |

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TABLE 5 (*continued*)

| RURAL OCCUPATIONS | URBAN OCCUPATIONS |
|---|---|
| | Cleaners |
| | Guards |
| | Signalmen, 58% |
| | Shunters, level-crossing keepers, 40% |
| | Ticket collectors, checkers |
| | Railway porters |
| | Other special railway occupations |
| | b. Road Transport Workers |
| | Proprietors, managers of motor car garages |
| | Drivers of motor vehicles, 40% |
| | Drivers of horse vehicles for passengers |
| | Drivers of horse lorries, carts, vans, 25% |
| | Tramdrivers |
| | Tram and bus conductors |
| | Grooms, 53% |
| | Other road transport workers |
| | c. Water Transport Workers |
| | Ship owners |
| | Harbor officials and stevedores |
| | Navigating and engineering officers |
| | Petty officers, seamen, deck hands |
| | Firemen, donkeymen |
| | Barge- and boatmen, 40% |
| | Dock laborers |
| | Other water transport workers |
| | d. Other Transport Workers |
| | Post office sorters |
| | Postmen, 61% |
| | Telegraph operators |
| | Telephone operators |
| | Telephone operators, female |
| | Messengers |
| | Porters |
| | Other workers |
| | *V. Commercial, Insurance, Finance* |
| | Cattle, sheep, pig, horse dealers, 53% |
| | Shopkeepers, male, 43% |
| | Shopkeepers, female, 39% |
| | Shop assistants and salesmen, male, 30% |
| | Shop assistants and salesmen, female, 30% |
| | Buyers |
| | Agents and factors (coal, drapery, etc.) |

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TABLE 5 (*continued*)

| RURAL OCCUPATIONS | URBAN OCCUPATIONS |
|---|---|
| | Commercial travelers |
| | Van salesmen and canvassers |
| | Hawkers of coal, vegetables, etc. |
| | Newspaper sellers |
| | Bank officials not clerks |
| | Insurance officials and agents |
| | Auctioneers and valuers |
| | Other commercial, insurance, finance occupations |
| *VI. Public Administration and Defense, excluding Professional Men and Typists* | |
| | Civil service officials and clerks |
| | Local authority officials and clerks |
| | Civic guards, 60% |
| | Army, commissioned officers |
| | Army, others |
| | Others in defense |
| *VII. Professional Occupations* | |
| Catholic clergymen, 65% | Other clergymen, 60% |
| Schoolteachers, male, 65% | Nuns and postulants, female, 34% |
| Schoolteachers, female, 67% | Christian brothers and monks |
| | Religious lay brothers |
| | Theological students, 54% |
| | Church officials, 50% |
| | Barristers |
| | Solicitors |
| | Medical doctors |
| | Dentists |
| | Veterinarians |
| | Midwives, female, 40% |
| | Sick nurses, female, 40% |
| | Music teachers |
| | Civil engineers and surveyors |
| | Chartered accountants |
| | Analytical chemists |
| | Professional students and articled clerks |
| | Journalists and authors |
| | Other professions |
| *VIII. Personal Service* | |
| Gamekeepers, 87% | Domestic servants living in, male, 60% |
| | Domestic servants living in, female, 58% |
| | Domestic servants away, male, 40% |
| | Domestic servants away, female, 45% |
| | Hotel and restaurant keepers, male and female, 25% |

[p. 243]

## TABLE 5 (*continued*)

| RURAL OCCUPATIONS | URBAN OCCUPATIONS |
|---|---|
| | Publicans, male, 56% |
| | Publicans, female, 53% |
| | Bar attendants, male, 46% |
| | Bar attendants, female, 54% |
| | Waiters |
| | Laundry workers |
| | Hairdressers |
| | Caretakers |
| | Charwomen, office cleaners, female |
| | Others in personal service |
| *IX. Clerks and Draughtsmen and All Typists, but not in Civil Service or Local Authority* | |
| | Heads of commercial sections of business |
| | Clerks, 14% |
| | Typists, male |
| | Typists, female |
| | Clerks, female |
| *X. Other Gainful Occupations – Entertainment* | |
| Race horse trainers and jockeys, 78% | Proprietors, managers |
| | Actors |
| | Musicians |
| | Other occupations, sport, entertainment |
| *XI. Warehouses, Stores, Packing* | |
| | Warehousemen and storekeepers |
| | Packers and other warehouse assistants |
| *XII. Other and Undefined Gainful Occupations* | |
| | Stationary engine drivers |
| | Timekeepers, gatekeepers |
| | Watchmen |
| | General and unclassified laborers, 25% |
| | Other and unclassified occupations |
| *XIII. Persons Twelve Years Old and Over not Gainfully Occupied* | |
| At school, 12–18, male, 69% | Retired from active occupation, not army or navy, 57% |
| At school, 12–18, female, 69% | Retired from active occupation, female, 50% |
| | Ex-officers of army and navy not described, 39% |
| | Students over 18, male, 50% |
| | Students over 18, female, 50% |

on the basis of chance expectancy any occupational class 463
should have about two-thirds of its members in the country
districts and one-third in the towns. It follows then that any 369
occupation two-thirds or more of whose followers are still recorded as country dwellers can safely be called a rural occupation. Any occupation whose followers are less than two-thirds country dwellers can be called urban.

In the table, therefore, occupations 67 per cent or more of whose followers are rural are listed in the left-hand column. They are called rural occupations for our purposes. Those occupations which have less than 67 per cent of their followers residing in the country districts are listed in the right-hand column. They are called, for our purposes, urban occupations. In some cases the percentage of the followers of an occupation who are country dwellers is given for reference, particularly where it is near the critical percentage, 67 per cent, but in most cases, where it is not close to 67 per cent, it is omitted.

In actual number the followers of non-agricultural occupations in the countryside are not a small army. They are 249, 930 persons, to compare with 658,800 agriculturalists of one sort or another. Of this army the largest single total is to be found among the "other producers," that is, those not listed in the recognized census industries, such as transport, communications, trade and commerce, the professions, or "personal service." There are 194,969 "other producers" in the country districts today.

A glance at the left-hand column of the table shows that there are practically no characteristically rural occupations left other than agriculture and the small occupations of fishing, coal mining, quarrying, creamery working. Breaking and scutching and hand knitting are still country occupations, but their followers are few. The rest of the textile workers are characteristically townsmen today. Tailors and shoemakers and woodworkers, even carpenters, are towns-

463 369 men today, overwhelmingly so, though among carpenters quite a few rural ones still survive. Smiths and employers in smithing and other metals businesses, many of whom are presumably smiths employing a few hands, often their sons, are still country dwellers characteristically. Masons and foremen and overlookers of construction and building are still country dwellers, as are contractors' navvies and platelayers. Except for the smith, therefore, there are no characteristically rural artisans left outside the building trades.

Those in the building trades or in construction, in the west at least, are not highly skilled men at all, not even the masons. They are largely laborers and landless cotters who work for local authorities as stone breakers and suppliers of gravel and broken rock for road construction. They are often farmers' sons who get work off the farm whenever they find work is to be had. Yet the local mason who puts up stone houses in the countryside, and the petty contractor ready to get up a crew of local boys for any sort of building, are still characteristically rural dwellers and part of the rural scene.

In transport industries the only occupation which is even nearly rural in complexion is that of postman, for obvious [205] reasons. The local post office is usually a small crossroads shop in the western counties. The post office workers are members of the rural communities they serve.

In commerce, in spite of the two currents at work, no occupation is characteristically rural. Dealers in animal produce, however, come closest to it. Yet most livestock and animal produce dealers are now townsmen, often town shopkeepers as well. The country shop at a crossroad is still important but not characteristic.

Civic guards, clergymen, and schoolteachers make up the only other occupational classes in the country who still live in the rural districts and are part of rural communities.

Three other occupational classes, according to the table,

are also characteristically rural still today. These are game- 463
keepers, race-horse trainers, and jockeys. These are, of 369
course, employees of the landed gentry who follow the cult
of the horse. They are more often to be found now in the
eastern midland counties than elsewhere today.

In County Clare rural occupations other than agricultural are equally rare. There the figures necessitate a slightly different definition of rural districts, since certain towns smaller than 1500 possessing local self-government are included in the town areas. But, by the same procedure as before, we can divide the proportions of total population into rural population in the county and then classify the occupations in Clare according to their rural or urban character.

In Clare, of course, there are no very large cities. The 162
county counts 5,023 males and 5,522 females in town dis- 464
tricts, and the overwhelming majority are country dwell-
ers as one would expect in the agricultural west. The total 369
rural districts in 1926 numbered 45,048 male inhabitants
and 39,471 female. As befits a largely agricultural area such
as the county, occupations and industries show a little
different distribution. The population is for males 89 per
cent rural and for females 88 per cent rural. Those gain-
fully occupied in rural districts number for males well over
two-thirds of the total population, for females only one-
fifth of the total, so that for men, at least, the numbers re-
corded as unoccupied are negligible. The low figure for oc-
cupied females is due to the inclusion of housewives among
the unoccupied. The rural-urban ratio upon which we can
build expectancies of proportions of followers of occupa-
tions to be found in towns or countryside is 92 per cent for
males and 84 per cent for females. As for the whole country,
female occupations are found only in the towns.

The table for Clare (Table 6) repeats practically exactly 463
the same story as that for Ireland as a whole. In fact, the 369

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## TABLE 6

### COMPARISON OF RURAL AND URBAN OCCUPATIONS, 1926, COUNTY CLARE[1]

The table lists in the left-hand column, under the heading "Rural Occupations," those occupations 89 per cent or more of whose followers live in country districts or places under 1,500 population or in places having local self-government (a special case). It lists in the right-hand column, under the heading "Urban Occupations," those occupations less than 89 per cent of whose followers live in country districts or places under 1,500 population. Percentages near 89 per cent are given; those greatly divergent are omitted. Industrial categories grouping occupations are listed at the head of occupations. Occupations represented in Table 5 which are not listed here have so small a following in County Clare that they are included among "Others." Figures in parentheses following occupations give the total numbers for County Clare.

| RURAL OCCUPATIONS | URBAN OCCUPATIONS |
|---|---|
| *I. Agriculture and Fishing* | |
| Agricultural occupations, male, 99% (23,572) | Fishermen, 84% (199) |
| Agricultural occupations, female, 99% (5,307) | |
| *II. Mining and Quarrying* | |
| Mining and quarrying, 92% (21) | |
| *III. Producers, Makers, and Repairers* | |
| a. Makers of Food | |
| | Employers, managers, 60% (21) |
| | Bakers, 50% (82) |
| | Makers of foods, female, 61% (13) |
| | Others, 20% (80) |
| b. Makers of Drink and Tobacco | |
| | Makers of drink, 99% (12) |
| | Makers of tobacco (0) |
| c. Textile Workers | |
| Textile workers, male, 95% (43) | |
| Textile workers, female, 87% (15) | |
| d. Makers of Apparel and Textile Goods | |
| | Employers, managers, 70% (48) |
| | Tailors, 67% (180) |
| | Bootmakers, 65% (141) |
| | Employers and managers, female, 70% (14) |
| | Dressmakers, female, 71% (304) |
| | Milliners, female, 50% (43) |
| | Others, female, 50% (13) |

[1] Based on Irish Free State Census, 1926, vol. II, Occupations. The Census does not divide occupations within this category between rural and urban districts for Clare. It gives merely the total for the category of occupational classifications.

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TABLE 6 (*continued*)

| Rural Occupations | Urban Occupations |
|---|---|
| e. Workers in Hides, Skins, Leather, not Boots or Shoes | |
| | Saddlers, 67% (45) |
| f. Workers in Wood and Furniture | |
| | Employers, managers, foremen, 71% (38) |
| | Carpenters, 84% (491) |
| | Cartwrights, 40% (27) |
| | Others, 60% (66) |
| g. Metal Workers | |
| | Employers, managers, 84% (56) |
| | Smiths, 85% (199) |
| | Fitters, 67% (31) |
| | Plumbers, 50% (11) |
| | Motor mechanics, 40% (91) |
| | Other mechanics, 80% (69) |
| | Others, 80% (112) |
| h. Electrical Workers | |
| | Electrical apparatus makers and fitters, 80% (87) |
| i. Workers in Chemical Processes, Makers of Fertilizers, Soaps, Paints, and Workers in and Makers of Paper and Cardboard | |
| j. Printers, Bookbinders, Photographers | |
| | Compositors and printers, 0% (16) |
| k. Builders, Bricklayers, Stone and Slate Workers, and Contractors | |
| Contractors' laborers and navvies, 91% (2,054) | Employers, managers, foremen, 88% (136) |
| | Bricklayers, 40% (5) |
| | Plasterers, 42% (28) |
| | Masons, 87% (114) |
| | Builders' laborers, 43% (121) |
| | Others, 78% (88) |
| l. Painters and Decorators | |
| | Painters and decorators, 43% (65) |
| m. Other Producers, Makers, and Repairers | |
| | Others, 50% (50) |
| *IV. Transport and Communication* | |
| a. Railway Workers | |
| | Railway officials not clerks, 84% (21) |
| | Locomotive engine drivers, 67% (34) |
| | Firemen, 33% (16) |
| | Porters, 60% (45) |
| | Others not clerks, 60% (41) |

[p.249]

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TABLE 6 (*continued*)

| RURAL OCCUPATIONS | URBAN OCCUPATIONS |
|---|---|
| b. Road Transport Workers | |
| | Proprietors, managers, foremen, 50% (21) |
| | Motor drivers, 50% (231) |
| | Drivers, horse vehicles for passengers, 60% (13) |
| | Drivers for goods, 50% (96) |
| | Others, 50% (6) |
| c. Water Transport Workers | |
| | Dock laborers, 9% (54) |
| | Boatmen, 88% (116) |
| d. Other Transport Workers | |
| Postmen and post-office sorters, 89% (190) | Messengers, 50% (39) |
| | Porters, 13% (63) |
| | Others, 80% (5) |
| *V. Commerce, Insurance, Finance* | |
| | Cattle, sheep, horse, pig dealers, 65% (69) |
| | Shopkeepers, 62% (574) |
| | Shopkeepers, female, 55% (341) |
| | Shopkeepers' assistants and salesmen, 50% (378) |
| | Shop assistants, female, 54% (263) |
| | Commercial travelers, 40% (25) |
| | Van salesmen and canvassers, 50% (15) |
| | Insurance canvassers and agents, 50% (19) |
| | Others not clerks and typists, 47% (83) |
| | Others not clerks, female, 80% (10) |
| *VI. Public Administration and Defense, excluding Professional Men and Typists* | |
| | Civil service officers and clerks, 68% (102) |
| | Local authority officers and clerks, 59% (78) |
| | Civic guards, 82% (260) |
| | Army officers, 5% (42) |
| | Civil service officers and clerks, female, 86% (93) |
| | Local authority officers and clerks, female, 30% (15) |
| *VII. Professional Occupations* | |
| Catholic clergymen, 90% (120) | Other clergymen, 69% (13) |
| Theological students, 90% (32) | Christian brothers and monks, 35% (14) |
| Mental attendants, female, 91% (37) | Nuns and postulants, 50% (227) |
| Schoolteachers, male, 86% (200) | Solicitors, 40% (10) |
| Schoolteachers, female, 91% (322) | Medical doctors, 77% (46) |

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## TABLE 6 (*continued*)

| Rural Occupations | Urban Occupations |
|---|---|
| | Dentists, 13% (8) |
| | Civil engineers and surveyors, 79% (28) |
| | Other professional, 63% (90) |
| | Other professional, female, 75% (23) |
| | Mental attendants, 50% (33) |
| | Registered midwives, 75% (4) |
| | Sick nurses, female, 77% (121) |
| *VIII. Personal Service* | |
| | Domestic servants, male, 83% (63) |
| | Domestic servants living in, female, 78% (1,312) |
| | Domestic servants living out, female, 75% (451) |
| | Hotel and boarding-house keepers, male, 78% (45) |
| | Hotel keepers, female, 50% (157) |
| | Publicans, 70% (229) |
| | Publicans, female, 75% (145) |
| | Bar men, 75% (76) |
| | Barmaids, 76% (113) |
| | Waitresses, 67% (15) |
| | Laundry women, 60% (27) |
| | Charwomen, 30% (24) |
| | Others, female, 40% (11) |
| | Hairdressers, 30% (19) |
| | Others, 57% (57) |
| *IX. Clerks and Draughtsmen and All Typists, but not in Civil Service or Local Authority* | |
| | Clerks, all typists, male, 45% (153) |
| | Clerks, all typists, female, 57% (82) |
| *X. Other Gainful Occupations — Entertainment* | |
| | Entertainment and sports, male, 59% (42) |
| *XI. Warehouses, Stores, Packing* | |
| | Warehousemen and assistants, 75%, (23) |
| *XII. Other and Undefined Gainful Occupations* | |
| | Stationary engine drivers, 80% (45) |
| | All others, 50% (33) |
| | All others, female, 60% (41) |
| | General laborers, 48% (387) |
| *XIII. Persons Twelve Years Old and Over not Gainfully Occupied* | |
| Retired, 87% (637) | Ex-officers, ex-soldiers, etc., 69% (137) |
| At school, male, 87% (3,504) | Students over 18 not elsewhere recorded, 83% (92) |
| At school, female, 86% (3,482) | Not yet at work, male, 77% (281) |
| Others, male, 90% (1,620) | Not yet at work, female, 75% (336) |
| Engaged in home duties, female, 88% (17,657) | Others, female, 83% (3,602) |

[p. 25]

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dropping away of rural occupations other than agricultural is even more marked. Yet the smith, carpenter, mason, building-contractor, employer, and foreman, and their navvies and laborers are characteristically rural producers. Only they of all the occupations and crafts survive in rural districts, with the exception of the very few textile workers. But the figures for the weavers of Clare are somewhat deceptive, since one of Clare's few industries was a tweed factory in Sixmilebridge, a town just too small to be excluded from the rural districts. Actually except for them the rural weaver is nearly entirely gone.

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In Clare, as in the whole country, two professional occupations are still rural. Priests and schoolteachers are country dwellers. And theological students, characteristically "strong" farmers' sons destined for the priesthood, are rural too. That female mental hospital attendants should be characteristically rural in Clare is a statistical accident due entirely to the fact that the County Mental Hospital happens to be just outside an urban boundary.

The statistical record restates the fact that today in Ireland no less than elsewhere social differentiation on the basis of occupation and technique is an urban matter. The countryside has been relegated entirely to the agriculturalist. Only very few others occupy the countryside with him in the face of the extreme division of labor of modern industrial civilization. The Irish countryside is an extreme example of the relegation of the rural districts to agriculture. Nevertheless the statistical record shows us that a few of the rural artisans survive. It demonstrates too that a few men of professional status still serve the rural community. Even the crossroad shopkeeper is an important rural figure still, though he does not count a sufficiently large number to distinguish himself statistically as a rural occupation.

Occupational and technological differentiation is thus not entirely lacking in the country districts. Such division

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Clare

of labor of a non-agricultural character as still persists in 463
the country communities is very simple. Yet it is an interesting part of community life. It affords status to local artisans in the lives of the small farmers. 369

The families upon the separate farms are not, of course, entirely self-dependent units. We have already had occasion to examine the kind of coöperation called cooring, often based upon the extended family which flourishes in the country districts. Such reciprocal *aids in ordinary farm* work are only one part of the fabric of services which one meets among the country people. Another part can be distinguished. It takes account of what elementary specialization in local techniques and handicrafts exists. The man or woman skilled in some particular branch of work is called the "handy man." The handy man is an important person at the times when his or her special skill comes into use. The local reputation of such a specialist is sufficient to keep the recognition of his skill alive between periods of use and to afford him a definite status. In the country districts of Clare even full-fledged artisans, appearing in census records as full-time carpenters, smiths, and the like, sons of fathers and grandfathers who followed the same trade, are not much more than local specialists. 476 463

Many a farmer is still a jack-of-all-trades, ready if need be to turn his hand to shoeing his horse or resoling a boot or building himself a house. Only where the products of factory and foundry have become deeply entrenched in farm life, embodying skills of distant workers abroad, do local goods and services represent techniques the small farmer cannot come close to emulating. For example, the smelting of iron is a process completely unknown, and neither the local blacksmith nor the farmer can do more than rework the iron they have at hand. But the blacksmith and the farmer both can do it, though it is the blacksmith who has the greater skill. In the countryside the techniques and the 463 [326]

463 products of specialized labor are open and visible to everyone, and in some measure they are part of the lore which each man learns. Not all the men come to practice them, but they have all seen them or heard them described, and they are part of the fund of conversation, precedent, and value which is common coin among the people of the community. One's special craft does not segregate one from one's neighbors or take one outside the community here. Rather it is one's mark or sign, one's reputation and status within it.

This is the case particularly where, as here, most of the craftsmen of one sort or another have always depended upon a plot of land or a kitchen garden behind their cabins, with perhaps a pig or a cow or two, nearly as much as they depended upon their craft. By this dependence they were never segregated from the rest of the local population, either physically or occupationally. They too were agriculturalists of a sort and shared farmers' tribulations. Just as the farmers knew something of their techniques, so the local craftsmen were nearly always proficient in the ways of agriculture. Today in rural Clare the handy man may be anything from a veterinarian or bonesetter to a building contractor. He is always without benefit of law, apprenticeship, or formal training, and merely follows a technique of which everyone knows something. The farmers are ready to pass upon his skill, to debate the technical points of his work, to build up or tear down his reputation.

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Down to the time of the World War, in the last generation, the close acquaintance the small farmers had with the special skills of the countryside was reinforced by the interest the farmers had in putting their sons to a trade. They could often find a place for them thus. In the towns even today formal apprenticeships, into which the farmer must pay for his son to enter, still flourish.

The statements one can get about the local specialists,

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at least of those of the better recognized trades, are direct 467
and intimate. The following words illustrate something of 874
the character of apprenticeship. A small farmer is speaking
of his own knowledge of local conditions:

> Before the war there used to be about twenty shoemakers in 463
> the neighborhood, but now they've mostly gone away or are in 467
> the towns. One of them went into Ennistymon. Whenever a
> farmer wants a strong pair of boots even yet, he will not go to 874
> a shop but he would go to the shoemaker. It wasn't always the 294
> case the son of a shoemaker would follow the trade because there was good money in it. With it they would buy a farm and so for his sons, and they would go to farming. If a farmer had a crippled son, he might send him to the shoemaker to teach him the trade. Papers were signed that bound the boy for three years to the tradesman, and then the boy would go live with the shoemaker. At first he would be taught to tap, then to stick, then to sew, and the last thing would be to cut. If a boy left before the three years were up, no one would give him a job, and no other tradesman would take him on to teach him a trade. The father had to give twenty pounds to twenty-five pounds to teach him. At the end of three years the boy was given his indenture papers which meant he could set himself up any place in the country or, if he had not enough money to do that, he would work as a journeyman for someone else and his papers would give him the right to do it.
>
> There were a great many tailors and smiths too. The time of work was three years. A boy who was a cripple might be sent to tailoring. He was taught three years and then he could set himself up. It was the easiest of them all to get along with because it required no money to start with. In the old days the tailor used to come to the house and stay for a week or so and make clothes for all the men of the house and go to the next house after.
>
> The smiths trained boys also. When I was small, a cousin of 463
> mine had a forge below on the road and any wet day all the 874
> boys used to gather there and watch and talk. I started out by
> blowing the bellows and then doing other things until finally 326
> I was as good as anyone. If I had the material I could make shoes, and I always shoe my own horses.

463 326 554 Of these local specialists only the smith survives in any strength today. He shares with the mason the admiration the country people feel for physical strength and prowess. Perhaps it is this that made the more sedentary occupations of weaver, shoemaker, and tailor of less prestige. Thus the crippled son, as the quotation says, might be put to one of them.

463 294 The tailor was often a peripatetic. He moved around from house to house and community to community where he was known, living and eating among the family. He was made welcome, not only as a maker of clothes but also as a carrier of gossip. Today the few tailors who survive in the country districts are petty cotters with only a memory of their trade. The few still active ones have retreated to the towns. Most of the farmers' clothing is now shop-bought and factory-made.

463 286 [283] The weaver was perhaps the most sedentary of the local craftsmen. He is the one who has failed to survive even in the towns. The women of the farm families carded and spun the wool into yarn until home spinning died out, and broke and scutched the flax for linen, but the weaver made it into cloth. He spent all his days indoors, moving from one side of his loom to the other in a small room heavy-laden with fluff and lint. The farmers seem to remember most strongly the unhealthiness of the life, but they tell one also of the weavers' arrogance when their skill was in great demand. The following is the kind of description one can still get, the first part of it discoursing on weavers in general and the second relating the history of the local man:

> In the old days the weaver might have enough work to keep him busy for four months and, when you went to see him, he would put you off and tell you to come back in a fortnight for your goods. It would be no good for you, none in the world, if you didn't take a bowl of butter and a few dozen eggs to him

as a way of getting him to start on your yarn in a hurry. If you 463
didn't, he would not do it until he got ready. They were independent, 286
all right, and then when they were finished, you had
to reach down into your pocket and pay for what he did. There
used to be a lot of weavers here, but they are all gone now. The
women have got out of weaving the wool.

A weaver here, Paddy Seán R—, was a very fine fellow 463
though he drank a lot. You cannot blame him for that because
his job was a mean one and bad on the health. He worked to 286
keep his mother out of the workhouse and till the day she died 735
he would not let her go there. Wasn't that a decent thing for
him to do? Afterwards he went to Galway and then he came
back here and as an old man he died in the workhouse. But
wasn't it a decent thing he would not let his poor old mother go [386
and her going up the streets of the town every morning collecting 514]
the urine from the people who lived in the house [to use
for bleaching].

These three occupations were the meaner ones in the eyes 463
of the country people. It was not that they degraded their
followers. Rather it was that they were intrinsically of less 554
value than the more robust crafts of outdoor life. Something
of the sexual dichotomization of labor was involved in this
attitude equating sedentary, house-bound pursuits with the
feminine spheres of activity.

The chief exponents of the robuster, more masculine crafts within local ken were the carpenter, the mason, the house builder, and the smith. But there were many others. Between the landless or "backward" cotters and laborers, who might turn their hand to anything, and the small farmers, who were themselves occasionally forced to turn to harvesting abroad or to road-mending and stone-breaking at home, there were as many specialists as there were activities in which special renown and skill could be attained. In fact, the development of local skills seems restricted only by the limits of the *matériel* which peasant life requires.

Other local experts were the thatcher, the cattle doctor 463
or "vet," often a herdsmen with a lifelong experience of

463 cattle, the butcher, expert at pig killing and skinning (pigs are regularly butchered on the small farms), the expert at rigging the great hayricks which stand in the farmers' haggards, and, lately, the threshing machine experts. All these robust, outdoor specialists are male. The feminine sphere of life does not seem to have bred such specialization. Yet many women were known also for their special skill at this and that branch of women's work and were consulted accordingly. [754 759] Nevertheless, the only traditionally feminine crafts to develop and flourish apart were witchcraft and midwifery.

A local craft or proficiency seems to develop out of some special crucial activity in local life. A local craft or skill of the kind that meets us here builds up directly out of social life itself. It is a development of habitual association about any person who gradually builds a reputation for a particular proficiency. The proficiency may center around some traditionally established technique of peasant life, like the weaving of homespun and shawls, the clothing of the small farmers, or else it may build up about local conventions having no direct economic value. Dances, gambles, and other entertainments and ceremonies of local social life may likewise afford areas in which a special skill gains recognition, gradually to grow into an occupation.

Thus the local specialists included fiddlers, singers, poets, storytellers. In the last century, in a day of great poverty and much displacement from the land, each of these skills gave an occupation to many wanderers along the roads of Ireland. Their followers found employment in the rural communities among the small farmers. Even itinerant dancing masters once flourished in the country districts during Carleton's day.[8]

The existence of other conventions leads likewise to the

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[8] Students of Gaelic culture have described these artists very amply. See Robin Flower, Daniel Corkery, *et al.*

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habitual utilization of persons specially skilled in them. 463 They are the ones to whom the small farmers habitually resort. Thus legal sanction might become necessary for matchmaking as soon as land reform made the farmers legal owners of the farms they transfer in the match. But a long experience of court tangles and reprimands by judges was necessary to establish the licensed solicitor as the channel for negotiation. The handy man who was a legal expert and had a fine copyist's hand in the country districts flourished quite a while longer, and flourishes occasionally even now. In the country districts, down to the present, these local specializations were acquired through personal association of one kind or another with former specialists. Very often skills are deemed hereditary in the eyes of the country people. But actually they are acquired as often through gradual development of habit begun out of interest and imitation as by inheritance and parental instruction. They are passed on quite often to others than sons. The following extract from field notes illustrates the development of such skills:

> The local man who cuts hair here is a handy man; the man 463
> Donnolly, who goes about and kills pigs for his neighbors is a 874
> handy man. When we asked, we were told by Flanagan that
> Donnolly was the butcher and handy man. They butcher only 231
> sheep, goats, and pigs. Cattle would be killed by the town butcher. Flanagan said Donnolly was not a true butcher, for he did not serve his time. If they want a boy to be a butcher, they send him to town and pay a fee and he would be trained there. Then they take out papers binding him. Donnolly said he learned it when he was a young man, but now that he was getting old he was not doing it any more. It takes several men to hold the pig, put a hook through the mouth, and kill it with a heavy blow on the head. They take it home, lay it on a table, and take a knife and cut it up. Then it is hung up, salted, and cured. Afterwards the butcher is given a bottle of stout for his work, as well as some fresh meat, while the husbands who helped get nothing.

463 The country people distinguish between these men who are handy men and have had no formal induction into their trade and those who are legally recognized as "tradesmen." But the line of formal distinction is thin, and more recognized in the abstract than in the concrete. Thus in the story of the development of one local mason, one can see that the difference lies rather more in the kind of remuneration than anything else. One farmer's account of the "tradesmen" of his knowledge led him on as follows:

> There are other men who are carpenters and masons who are handy men, but they usually work for pay because the job might take several days, and no neighbor could stay away from his work with a friend for that length of time. Donovan is a mason and he taught himself. He built his own house and several others. A man cannot build a house because he would not know how to do it. Donovan is a very intelligent man. He has a terrible head on him.

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That the difference of remuneration is seized upon by countrymen as the distinguishing mark came to the authors' notice again and again. The handy man is the local resident who fits into the local pattern of courtesies, barter, gifts, as in the case of the butcher, described above, who got his reward in the shape of the meat shoved under his arm. In cooring, of course, one never pays. In any act of "friendship" and alliance in a familistic setting no formal remuneration of monetary payment is ever present. We have already seen that it is only at the crucial period of family reorganization, when the whole system of relations between members undergoes change, that any considerations of money enter the schedule of rural services and rewards. The same absence of money payment is the point of distinction here. It distinguishes the relations between the men of a local community and one of themselves who is "handy" through special experience from those between formal client and tradesman. Money payment is the mark of the outsider;

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gift and barter that of the fellow in the local community.[*]

For example, O'Sullivan, the "vet" of Rynamona, already 463
mentioned, was a herdsman who did his cattle doctoring in 232
his spare time. His services were always at the call of his 476
neighbors. He seems to have been fairly good at his practice. He was quite widely sought after. His interest led him even to an experimental turn of mind. He said he often cut up cattle to see what killed them. In every description of him given by his neighbors they insisted he never took a penny for his work.

The many bonesetters, whose help is much sought after, 463
reject payment too. They are so numerous that a local dispensary doctor in Clare could complain that he had never 759
been trusted to set a fracture but was consulted only to make 476
sure a fracture had occurred. Even townsmen always emphasized in justification of local custom that the bonesetter accepted no money. Legal requirement has something to 656
do with it. Statutes protecting legitimate doctors and veterinarians from this sort of competition exist and can be invoked, but that is only part of the story. The greater part of the matter lies here: The handy man is part of the local community. He is one of the farmers who has specialized, and thus he is within the pattern of reciprocal services and mutual aid.

Such a figure as the blacksmith, who follows a recognized 463
trade, and is paid for it accordingly, distinguishes carefully 465
between the services for which money payment is possible 326
and those which cannot be so remunerated. In the following case we can see that he distinguishes nicely in this tact indeed, for he can be paid in other communities for services for which he cannot accept payment at home. A blacksmith in North Clare is telling of himself in paraphrase:

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[*] Weavers, carpenters, thatchers, and masons may, of course, receive payment for their work, and do so. But such payment is made usually either where a farmer is in no position to return favors or does not want to enter a permanent relationship of cooring. The methods are alternatives.

463 He is called the blacksmith by the people around; his place
465 is called the forge. He is also the local horse doctor. He has
about a hundred and twenty horses which he shoes for the
326 surrounding farmers. His father, whose place he has now taken,
232 is too old to work and so he does it all.

A rainy day is the time when the farmers bring their horses in to be shod, for it is then that work cannot be done on the farms. That's the time he will be busy all day, and it is very hard work. The shoe must be made to fit the horse. You work the fire with the bellows and put on the special coal for the forge. Usually the man whose horse it is will work the bellows for him.

He buys the iron in long strips and makes it up himself. The price is six shillings for a new set of shoes and three shillings for refitting an old set.

He keeps account of what the farmers owe him and usually between the first of November and the beginning of the new year they come in and pay. They pay once a year and he never sends an account or presses for the money. If they are poor people, he never charges and overlooks it until they have the money to come in. They come from about four miles around and he has the same ones year after year. He never charges them for looking at the horses. His father was a great horse doctor, better than himself. He was great for growths, sore teeth, or internal trouble. From miles around the farmers would come to have their animals treated. No charge was ever made for this of any man who had shoeing done with him, but a man from a distance would be charged. His father took a trip once through Galway and Connemara curing the ills of horses and he charged enough to pay his expenses and a little more.

463 Here we see the same consideration at work as in the case
465 of the handy man carpenters and masons. When the exer-
cise of skill is expanded to a point where it fills the work-
431 man's working existence, clearly setting him off from the
759 farmers, the farmers recognize his role as a fit subject for
money payment. When his work is only the occasional avocation of one of their own kind, they do not. For this reason the midwife always differed from the local nurse. The mid-

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wife got her reward in presents, gifts, and whiskey, but not 759
in money. Money, however, would be proferred to the 431
nurse.

That the factor of payment in money should be crucial 463
is really the cloak of the set of dispositions arising from
habitual relations. In the local community the handy man 465
is not paid, since, like "friends" and neighbors, he is one of 571
themselves. Since he is one of the countrymen, he is caught within the system of much the same habitual relations of reciprocal service and mutual aid which make up cooring in agriculture.

To see this point, we must describe the action of the local 476
community in respect to the work to be done once again.
Cooring is a form of reciprocal exchange of goods and 571
services. One old fellow described it aptly when he said that it meant that for a day of work given you would receive a day in return. We have already seen its connection with familism and the extended family. But besides cooring, there was another form of the custom known as *meitheal* (mihil). The word *comhair* (coor) referred to the reciprocity, the word *meitheal* to the band of men and teams acting together to perform a task. On various occasions when work beyond the capacity of cooring families was to be done, a *meitheal* of men or women or horses could be made up.

As described by the old people who still remember its heyday, the *meitheal* rested on a foundation slightly different from the reciprocity of cooring. The work was done by a gang of local persons got up for the purpose through the wish and custom of the local inhabitants, but without expectancy of individual return in like measure.

Bands of men and women were got up in rural communities by *meitheal* for the following purposes, of which the authors heard record:

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1. Mowing and harvesting for priest and school teacher.
2. Mowing and harvesting for an old couple without children who could not do it themselves.
3. Hauling and moving where many horses were needed, as a *meitheal* of horses, for bringing sand or seaweed manure from the coast, or moving and re-settling a family.
4. Rebuilding a house and re-settling an evicted family.
5. Collecting a *meitheal* of girls with their spinning wheels from all the community's houses to spin after shearing.
6. Collecting a *meitheal* of men and girls for various processes connected with the conversion of flax to linen.

There were probably many other more extraordinary kinds of coöperative action. But the above list exhausts those which are remembered by the local communities the authors knew in Clare and which are unconnected with the more directly reciprocal and familistic pattern of cooring. The difference between *meitheal* and *comhair* was not a contrast, however, by any means. The term *meitheal*, applied strictly, referred to the band of persons and their tools got together. Yet there was a certain unanimity in the country people's feeling that the word *meitheal* should be reserved specifically for occasions of the local community's communal action. In *meitheal* work no individual or family expected a like return.

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Community action in concert, in which bands of workers are got up for specific purposes, is nowadays very different. Most of the characteristic actions of *meitheal* remembered by the old people are no longer carried out. Just as in the case of cooring, the need of the small farmer for his fellows is no longer so great. Monetary hire is spreading into the country communities. Yet even today the schoolteacher and the priest are donated services at hay harvesting occasionally, though nowadays schoolteacher and priest rely no longer upon bits of land and garden for support but upon fixed monetary salaries from state or church. Such aid is of little importance in their economies. Likewise, old-age

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pensions and other benefits have removed the necessity of action by *meitheal* for the support of the aged and childless. General prosperity and the spread of machinery and tools have made it unnecessary for such concerted action in other cases, and local self-sufficiency is no longer so complete. 571 178

Nevertheless, the foundation of mutual relations between members of the local community upon which *meitheal* was based still exists. It can be called into play in emergency or under special circumstance still. Not all the townsman's accusation that the spirit of self-help and self-sufficiency has gone out of the country people is true by any means. They still will buckle to a community task, if necessity forces action, quite willingly. But they have learned that they have a voice nowadays in the kind of activity to which public funds and public works shall be put. This awareness is part of the extension inward into the community of the lines of relationship with persons and institutions external to the farm community which is so characteristic of the age. Such relationships are now made use of where before there were none of them beyond appeal to a landlord. 476 571

Some description of the former kind of activity might be of interest here, though it is in the nature of a digression. The techniques of the last century, particularly those of wool and flax, were different from those of today; yet the situation is in other respects quite like that of today as far as the organization of persons in the community is concerned. The age groups of old and young, the sex division of activity between men and women, and the reciprocities between family groups and the direction of the community in the hands of the old men were even more marked than they are today. But nothing fundamental has changed except the techniques. 476 571 286

The following is an account of the older custom in weaving:

476 A man would go to town and buy two or more pottles of flax
to sow. Then on the first of May he would go to the garden
571 and plant it. In August he would pull it up by the roots and
248 lay it in small bundles to be made into stooks. Then they would
take it and put it into a bog and leave it there fifteen or twenty
days, after which they could dry it in the house by hanging it
from the rafters. About the first of November you would take
it down and some men would come in and help break it. They
would then put it back and later take it down and scutch it with
a pronged tool, drawing the flax over it and breaking it.

Some time about Christmas time you would have a *meitheal*
476 of girls come in and they would sit in a semicircle round the
571 fire and clove the flax. It would take several days depending
on how much you had. The girls would stay with you all that
283 time. At seven in the evening they would be through and
within half an hour you could hear them in the hills leaping
and shouting. About eight or eight-thirty the boys would begin
[535] to arrive and there would be a dance and be no more good out
of them for that night. They might have a dance every two or
three days. You fed them good.

The next thing was the hackling, and this might be done by men or women. You had a box with iron prongs sticking up and you would hit the stalk against the irons and the small particles would fall into the box below. It might take several nights. Old man Roughan was a great man at the hackling, but he was always great for nothing else to do with flax. It was fine if you got him to come and help you and he would be glad to do it. Then you might be good at something else and you would go and help him with that. Some men were good at one thing and others at something else and they would help each other.

After this the next thing was the spinning, and this was done
by the woman. She would sit in this corner by the fire and she
might be there every night, or whenever she had the time,
spinning the flax fiber into thread. She had no one to help her
and it was a hard job. After it was made into thread, it would
be taken out and bleached and re-wound and then taken to the
[266] weaver. The weaver made it into cloth and you would use it
for sheets and shirts and other things. Flax was a hard thing
and there was a lot of hard work about it.

248 They have been out of growing it for thirty or forty years

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and now they would never think of growing it but must be running to town and buying what they want. 248

The process of conversion of wool to yarn and thence into cloth was equally difficult. It demanded the concerted efforts of most of the rural community. It gave scope for the development of specialists who could give their skills back and forth even though, as before, their skills were part of the equipment of all the young people in the community. Two other old fellows of Inagh combined in the following account: 476 571 283

> With the wool it was sheared on May 15 and, if that fell on a Monday or Tuesday and the following was Saturday in town (market day) you would see the men there with wool to sell while others would be there to buy it with large baskets in which to put it. The first thing was to card the wool. About the first of June you would get ready to spin it. For that you go around to all the neighbors and ask for a loan of a girl to spin the wool, and if you got eight or ten you must get the loan of that many spinning wheels. Then they come to the house on a certain day and I have seen eight wheels in this room and two in the other, all the girls spinning and talking away. It might take several days before they were through and they would have a dance and the boys would come around. You want to be sure to get the girls early for there is a great demand for them. After the yarn is spun, it is placed on the wall to be taken to the weaver later on. [535]

All this was part of the pattern of work in which the members of the community were accustomed to work in close association. The behavior described here is that which we have already looked at in the discussion of the obligations of cooring. The *meitheal* referred to the working gang rather than the system in which the local habits were set. That setting was a constant play of habitual work relations between the "friends" and neighbors of the local community in which the characteristic organization of the community aligned sex and age groups and associated the 476 571

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571 skills of individual experience and prowess with one's place in such groups.

476 461 In dealing with local techniques and local specializations, it is impossible to divorce them from this social setting. The attitudes of the country people support this view. Their emotional outlook on work gives added proof of the identity between work role and the social relations it involves. Solitary work is difficult and tedious. It offers little incentive. Communal effort on the other hand has a pleasant and variegated rhythm which works up an emotional satisfaction which can counteract fatigue and monotony.

Consequently, concerted effort and hard work are not often divorced in the minds of the country people, to judge from what they say of it, from their experience of the *esprit de corps* which they feel. The old people as usual deny any value to present-day activity. The young think the doings of an older day the behavior of savages. We have already seen how the attitudes which express one's age status color one's view of life in the countryside. That is the case again here. If the old people deny the existence of community effort today, it is because they think of the zest of working in unison in youth long ago and remember the times when emotion was highest and the solidarity of communal effort greatest. And the young people forget this. Listening to the accounts of such mighty effort, they think only of the hardship and the ignorance of labor-saving short-cuts it entailed. Similarly the old people forget or fail to see that the young people go through the same experience as they once did.

476 571 Thus one can hear such a description of communal effort and the joys of work in common as follows from the old people and at the same time one can still watch a harvest where coöperative action and competition in skills is just as great. And we can know that the essential patterns are the same, though the techniques may change:

And at the time of the saving of the hay and up to the War didn't it used to be that a man's place was done in turn and there would be fifteen or twenty men working at a time on the one place. There would be one man make the hayrick and there were no round ricks in it then, they were all long. There would be another who would rack it and two above on the rick putting hay into it. The other men and women would be in the fields bringing the hay in on their backs, and the children would be there too. Each would do as much as he could. Then the man whose field it was would have half a barrel of porter and the men would all drink. At noon and in the evening the neighboring women would come in and spread a great feed with jam and sweet breads and other things out of the ordinary, and in the evening there would be a tea for all of them in the fields. 476 571

Then at the cutting of the turf the man might have porter, though the hay saving was a bigger time than the turf cutting. There would be several working together at the cutting of the turf, some cutting and others laying it out, and they would be given a feed and some drink for it. There was a man who agreed to cut turf for a widow woman who had several small children. After he arrived, he was sorry he came, for there was no one to lay out the turf for him. But the widow and children were there and worked all day and never a sod did he get ahead of them. As soon as he had one cut, there was a child there to carry it away.

The people also helped each other with the ploughing and the planting of the garden, several men working to help and be called. There was one woman who would help one neighbor today and another the next and so on. It would kill you if you had to do it alone but you never feel the work when there are several of you all working.

There is none of that today. Everyone is begrudging the other if he manages to get along tolerably well and each man does his own. Then the women used to work together. They had what they called a *meitheal*. On an appointed evening all the girls would gather at the house and work on the flax, scutching it, and they might be there for several days or a week working and living in the same house until all the work was done. Then they might go to another house and stay there. We had a great fortnight long ago at the Murphys here. The young men

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476 would be waiting outside to whisk them away or to have a dance.

571 Then when they ground the oats, they had a quern and the men and women would come together and each take a turn at grinding so it was not tiring and they would have a big supper of spuds and milk for all of them before they would go. Then they would get together for the carding and spinning before the thread was taken to the weaver. The young women might be carding and the old women spinning and the *meitheal* of [535] girls would work away. They would get a dance when they would be done.

All the above description of close concert and deeply imprinted habitual work relations among the members of the local communities in the framework of the organization of behaviors of age and sex depict the now dead past. The same activities today, though certain techniques are different, bring out the same picture of work relations in an emotionally charged unison among persons of similar status within the community. The present-day hay harvest is very little different, though mowing machines are used. The great hayrick is still built in the same setting, and still calls for celebration. Everyone still waits for a signal from the hayrick rigger, a personage of considerable importance on such a day.

476 The unison of working on oats harvest with flails is gone.
571 But in its place is a threshing machine, and its owners come around and a local crew is got up out of the local men. The
463 same jollities still reign. In all this our chief interest is not
554 in changing custom. Rather it is from this kind of observation that a new conclusion arises. The factors of differentiation about skills and techniques in the rural communities give rise to statuses of the same kind as before, statuses based upon the development of a specialty by a member of the local community which is recognized and valued within the habitual activities of his fellows. Here is an opportunity to see the embryonic form of division of labor and development of occupations in terms of the life of a community. It is a continuous process.

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The formally recognized artisans of the country districts represent a sort of halfway stage in this process. The blacksmith is the most important of them, through historical associations and because his skill suffers so little loss of demand. Others, such as the weaver and tailor, are in process of disappearance; others perhaps in process of emergence. It is the incorporation they experience into the habitual relations of the group that determines their presence or absence and determines whether or not their skill shall develop or be lost. 463 571 461

Take, for instance, the few cases of persons who return to their native communities in the countryside from abroad. They find adjustment extremely difficult. The "returned Yank," if he has been long away, is declassed and to an extent deracinated. This is true of all his behavior, through all his relations with those from whom he went. The process of reabsorbing him is slow and painful. None of this shows itself better than in his inability to fit himself in again technically and occupationally. If he takes a farm, he is better off because he is independent. But otherwise he must learn a different kind of organization of work relations, a different tempo, and he must wait upon the slow development of the relations with his fellows which alone can give him full occupational status among them. This is the reason why innovations of all kinds seem to be infinitely slow in conservative rural life. Ardent agricultural reformers all too often fail to recognize this enforced tempo of habitual working relations in agriculture and suffer disillusionment accordingly. In fact, it is the rock on which most well-meaning reforms or innovations break. Change and innovation do come about, surprisingly quickly from one point of view. But they proceed through social relations; they do not overthrow them. They come about through a new habit's achieving a compatibility with old ones.

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In the Irish countryside the organization of the community upon an occupational basis can be understood not

463 571 in terms of such considerations as income, wealth, or skill, or any such factors, but in terms of the place and function of the persons specializing among their fellows. It can be understood in terms of social relations and the organization of habit. Status based upon technical differentiation is built up out of personal relations in the work experience of the community members.

476 571 621 If then we take inventory of the kinds of goods and objects which make up the *matériel* of peasant life, and draw up such an inventory to illustrate for us the connection between social relations and these goods and objects, we can construct a series of charts which connect community life and the exchanges and uses of goods, services, and objects in one comprehensive view.

In such a chart those goods and services which come to the farmer from those within his own community come to him in connection with traditional social relations uniting fellow community members. They are the ones transferred under the pattern of cooring: through "friendliness" and non-monetary reciprocal obligation.

Those goods and services which come to the farmer and his family from without the community come to him in connection with more recently developed non-traditional relations uniting him to persons outside the community. They fall into quite different patterns of activity. Likewise any person whose occupation makes him both a member of the local community and part of the outside world, by virtue of his relations extending beyond, is also in a position of oscillation between the first and the second relationships.

For there is a continual attempt to extend the pattern of cooring, as with all local familistic and communal obligation and sentiment, outward on the part of the farmers, and a continual extension inward on the part of outsiders of other patterns of relationship. Much of the enduring pattern of town and country relationship evolved in Irish society hinges on this point. Much of political life is explained here. Gifts and personal favors, fashioned on the pattern of the extended family and local community, besiege (or used to besiege) magistrates and government officials. Before land reform they besieged such links with the outer world as the older estate system provided, such as the bog warden, the land steward, and the other functionaries of landlords. Yet against this pattern's sway there runs a continual incursion of other patterns which the institutions extending their sway from town life and higher social classes downward provide. In this meeting and conflict of social patterns much is to be learned of the structure of Irish social classes and of the continuing course of Irish social life. 476 571 621

The matter is of interest here only as a summary of the life of the rural community itself. It occupies us only in so far as it points to a conclusion about the kinds of relationship which build up within the local community between the farmers and those of their fellows who are not farmers. There is always a primary distinction among them. There are those who have, quantitatively speaking, most of their activities taken up in relations within the local community alone, and there are those who are divided between the local community and the outside world and who make a bridge between. The former fall in one way or another into the pattern of cooring. They are a "cut below" the farmer, yet his intimates. They are the ones in relation to whom the farmer is the dominant party, since it is the farmer who commissions, hires, or otherwise sets off the other's activity, expert as it may be. The secret of the equivalence of the status of these persons with that of the landless boys lies in these facts. For the boys are in exactly the same case. 565 571 621

The others, however, who are in one way or another part of the outside world, are alike if only in that. Various as they are, they are never in the same case as the local handy

565 men and the boys. For them the patterns of dominance by
571 the farmer, of recipiency of gifts and cooring favors, of articu-
621 lation with the peasant cliques in the local community, are never complete, because of their conflict with other, external ties. The crossroad shopkeeper, the policeman, the schoolteacher, the priest, the big farmer, even the local man who becomes a county councillor by election, are always a "cut above" the farmers. They come to form a group apart. They take over near-urban standards first. Some of them, of course, priest, schoolteacher, and policeman, are often residents for only a short term. They have come to the country district they serve as strangers and outsiders, if only from the next parish. But a certain aloofness and a certain difference clings to these men even if they are natives by ancestral descent. Contact with the outer world brings in the outer world's ways and sets them apart and a little above.

Only the wanderers, the tinkers, the itinerant beggars, hawkers, and "dealing" men and women, many of them uprooted urban laborers, whose ties are with the towns and whose visits in country districts are short and predatory, fall outside this pattern. They are a special case. They are also many a "cut below" the farmers. They are an outcast lowest class.

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## TABLE 7

### RELATIONS OF FARMERS AND NON-FARMERS IN THREE RURAL COMMUNITIES IN COUNTY CLARE

The table which follows is a chart of relationships between farmers and non-farmers in the rural communities of Clare. It lists those of different skill or habit with whom the farmers have relations. Those who fall under the pattern of reciprocities, gifts, and cooring, and the goods and services they provide the farmer, appear in one list. Those who fall under other patterns, who do not figure in the obligations of cooring, are listed in another. At the right of each item in each list is a word or phrase characterizing the initiation of the actions taking place between the farmer and the non-farmer in the course of the provision of the goods or services described.

Read another way, the lists arrange in two groups all the local specialists with whom we have been dealing. They show us that the differences are to be found in social relations, not in goods or services rendered or any other factor. All the specialists of whom the authors got information in the country districts are here. The first list describes the specialists whose relations to the farmers are "internal" to the community. The second list describes those persons who connect the farmers with the outside world and are thus "external." List I gives those who enjoy superior prestige and local standing, whose contacts with the community proceed through the heads of families, the adult men, and who are capable of initiating action among them. In that limited sense only, they are dominant over the farmers and make a higher class. List II gives those who share inferior prestige and local standing, who form cliques with the "boys," and who are not ordinarily capable of initiating action among the adult members of the community except in a course of communal action employing their special skill. These are a lower class in the country districts by such definition.

This configuration of factors reveals the lines of relationship within the community and those extending outward from it.

The reader may judge for himself how close the connection is between the familistic system of farm life and the structure of the rural community.

### LIST I

### EXTRA-FAMILIAL RELATIONS WITHIN THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES, INTERNAL

| Occupation or Technical Status | Goods or Service Provided Farm Family | Character of the Relations [1] | Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services [2] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Weavers | Homespuns, shawls, cloths, blankets | | |
| Tailors | Clothing | | |
| Carpenters | Furniture, houses, buildings | | |

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, in each case this consists of gifts and cooring.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, in each case the farmer commissions the labor.

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## TABLE 7 (*continued*)

| Occupation or Technical Status | Goods or Service Provided Farm Family | Character of the Relations | Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services |
|---|---|---|---|
| Smiths | Farm implements, horseshoes, tools, repairs | Gifts, annual payment, and cooring | |
| Shoemakers | Boots, shoes | | |
| Thatchers | House thatching | | |
| Hayrick experts | Hayrick building | | |
| Masons | House building, sheds, walls | | |
| Wall builders | Walls | | |
| Whitewashers | Limewashing of houses, sheds | | |
| Water diviners and well diggers | Finding and building of wells | | |
| Threshing-machine operators, owners | Threshing | Payment, gifts and cooring | Farmer commissions labor and machine and pays hire |
| Midwives | Attendance at childbirth | | |
| Bonesetters | Broken bones | | |
| Local "vets" | Treatment of sick animals | | |
| Local "doctors," wise men or women | Treatment of sick; magic | | |
| Domestic servants | Household aid | Wages only for outsiders not kin | Farmer hires and pays hire, otherwise kinship relations hold |
| Agricultural laborers, employees of big farmers | Occasional aid in agriculture | | Either party requests aid |
| Gravekeepers | Records of grave locations, tending of graves | Wages by priest, gifts and cooring from farmers | Unobserved |
| Slate quarrymen | Building and roofing slates | Unobserved | Unobserved |
| Sextons | Tending of churches | Wages by priest | Unobserved |
| Limekiln and lime burners | Fertilizer | Gifts and cooring from local men, payment for outsiders | Unobserved |

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## LIST II

### EXTRA-FAMILIAL RELATIONS WITH LOCAL PERSONS EXTENDING OUTSIDE THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES, EXTERNAL

| Occupation or Technical Status | Goods or Service Provided Farm Family | Character of the Relations | Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Special Cases, Occasional Relationship* | | | |
| Tinkers | Asses, pots, pans, repairs | Occasional trade at the door | Tinker makes rounds |
| Dealers, hawkers, feather-mongers | Odds and ends, small trade articles. Feather mongers buy feathers from farmers | Occasional trade at the door | Dealer makes rounds |
| *Habitual Relationships* | | | |
| Crossroad shopkeeper | Supplies liquors, foodstuffs, tobacco, sundries not bought in town. (Most trading of staples done in towns, however.) Collects eggs and butter for sale to produce dealers | Farmer an habitual client, purchasing on long-term credit. Relationship overlaid with obligations of "friendliness," involving reciprocal gifts and occasional advances. Barter significant only in the shopkeepers' acting as depot for eggs and butter sales | Relationship habitual over long term (see other columns) |
| Civic guards, (police) officials and uniformed men (*Gardai Siochána*) | Local protection of person and property, apprehension and prosecution of misdemeanor and felony. Informally, police settle disputes, report grievances, give amateur legal advice, and gather census data for governmental departments | By law, civic guards must be neither members of the communities in which they are stationed nor related in it by marriage. They are instructed to maintain close rapport and very friendly relations with local people, and seem to succeed. They go in for much sport with the local young men and boys. They are attached to local barracks but, if they are married, maintain homes in the local community | Assigned to stations on departmental orders |

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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## TABLE 7 (*continued*)

| Occupation or Technical Status | Goods or Service Provided Farm Family | Character of the Relations | Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agricultural instructors, horticultural instructors, poultry instructresses, etc. Permanent officials, employees of local authority, county councils, and members of government departments | Instruction and demonstration through experimental plots, prize contests and schemes, assignment of grants, evening lectures, etc. | Agricultural instructors of all kinds make home visits and hold classes locally but have large districts and are often townsmen. Informal contact with farmers slight | Instructor either pays a visit of inquiry or is called upon by the farmer for his advice and aid; farmers make inquiries at central offices |
| Land commission officials and staff | Division and regulation of land holdings provided by land law in breaking up former large estates, often affording occasional employment for young men | Usually entirely official and administrative; very little informal contact; tempered, however, by indirect political influence originating among farmers | Land commission proceeds officially to estate division; farmers petition for increase of holdings at local offices |
| Commission of Public Works officials and staff | Provision of public works and relief works in connection with drainage, conservation, government projects, supplying occasional local employment for young men | Usually entirely official and administrative; very little informal contact; tempered, however, by indirect political influence originating among farmers | Public works commission proceeds officially to put a project into effect |
| Local government authority, County Council, officials and staff: | | | |
| a. Rate collectors | Collection of rates, taxes, land annuities | Make collections in person, most frequently at farmer's house, though also by post. Usually owe jobs to local influence and are most often of the farming class, but collections are large and contacts not wide | Rate collection proceeds under orders of administrative staff of County Council |

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| Occupation or Technical Status | Goods or Service Provided Farm Family | Character of the Relations | Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services |
|---|---|---|---|
| b. Road engineers, foremen, overseers and staff | Maintenance of roads through direct labor or through contracts with the farmers for supply of local quarry stone or paving materials. Relief work and road building an important source of employment of young men | Permanent officials employees of the local authorities, the County Council; foremen, overseers, and "gangers" often chosen from the farming community; much local influence exerted through county councillors | Road work proceeds under orders of administrative staff of County Council |
| c. County councillors | Local political representatives on local authority. In practice present local needs, wishes, and grievances, smooth the local administration of governmental bodies, and carry out the official duties of the County Council, not delegated to permanent staff | Elected by voters of rural electoral districts through universal suffrage of all citizens over thirty years of age (1935) in periodic local government elections. Have very often been crossroad shopkeepers or influential local big farmers; nowadays, however, are often small farmers as well. Depend for election upon canvassing, personal contacts, and attention to constitutents' business, though political party endorsement is not unimportant | |
| d. County Board of Health, officials and staff, local dispensary doctors, nurses, and home assistance (relief) officers | Investigation and report of cases in need of assistance, relief, etc., and provision of same | Employees or appointees of local authority; usually townsmen, and not members of the local community. Their duties, however, demand that they maintain friendly contact and acquire considerable local information | Farmers petition Board of Health or County Council or apply at dispensaries |

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1.Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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TABLE 7 (*continued*)

| Occupation or Technical Status | Goods or Service Provided Farm Family | Character of the Relations | Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services |
|---|---|---|---|
| Big farmer | Occasional employment of local young men; occasional aid to small farmers and local purchase of corn, vegetables, animals, produce | Of a higher class and wider contacts than the small farmers; most often a townsman by culture and even by residence. In the countryside, close informal contacts with others of his kind over a wide area; interest in fashionable recreation and sport. Contacts with small farmers often friendly but usually few, except where big farmer is active politically | |
| Cattle and produce dealers | Purchase of produce and livestock, providing chief monetary income of small farmers | When not townsmen, whom the farmer meets only at periodic fairs and markets, these men are usually big farmers. Buy "from the land" (that is, from individual farmers not gathered at the local fairs and markets) very rarely; butter and egg dealers nearly always buy through crossroa' shopkeepers | |

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| Occupation or Technical Status | Goods or Service Provided Farm Family | Character of the Relations | Activity Initiating Relations Involving Provision of Goods or Services |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parish priest and curate and other clergy | Religious leadership and moral control. Regulation of personal conduct and family behavior. Settlement of conflicts and disputes. Recommendation of "characters" before the outside world. Regulation of formal beliefs and attitudes, supervision of education in the interests of the accepted *mores.* Priest supplies ceremonial and cultural leadership and takes an active part in nearly all recreational and cultural activity, along with the schoolteacher, in country parishes. Only at times of high ceremony or special devotion, as at marriages, or in pilgrimages and retreats, does the small farmer make use of town churches, though he and his wife often contribute to them | In country districts today formal religious relationship seems to be superseding older paternalistic dominance of parish priest. Little informal contact except in the case of young curates in local sport. But the priest still commands greatest respect and reverence and, in many cases, the love of his parishioners. He is still the local court of appeal and the arbiter of local custom. He is consulted a great deal by both men and women. His parishioners are jealous lest he overstep his sphere of authority, particularly in politics, yet they concur in granting him obedience in everything else. Nevertheless the older magical power he possessed once is gone. Today he is often superior to the small farmers in wealth and education, and is not one of them. His more usual associates are other clergy, big farmers, and townsmen | |

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# CHAPTER XIII

## *Markets and the Community*

621 IN rural Ireland what we have called the "rural community" is no simply defined geographical area. Any one of the recognized divisions of the countryside in Ireland, a townland, a group of townlands, a parish, an old barony, a mountain upland, a portion of a valley floor or plain, except perhaps the newer administrative divisions, is in a sense a community. The lines of relationship among the small farmers are continuous from one of these to another across the land. Geographic barriers serve only to deflect the lines of this continuum, not to divide it.

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We observe of a farmer of Luogh, for example, that he coors largely in Luogh townland. But he has kinsmen scattered around about as far as Mount Elva, four miles to the north, and Liscannor, three miles to the south. He attends the parish church of Killilagh, a two-mile walk from his house, but sends his children to school at Ballycotton, only a mile off. He does most of his shopping in Roadford, a crossroad settlement two miles away. Yet he takes his larger produce for sale and his larger needs of purchase to the market town of Ennistymon, some eight miles off, or the smaller one of Lisdoonvarna, some five miles off. He votes and pays his taxes as a member of a certain electoral district which overlaps exactly none of these regions. He associates himself in tradition with Clare and Munster as a North Clare man, rather than with Galway and Connaught,

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though he may have seen very little of either beyond his market towns. The small farmer of Luogh has allegiances to all these communities. He is quite ready to find his emotion stirred in any one of them. He is ready to back the men of Luogh against the men of the neighboring townland; to back those of the mountain region against those of the valley lands; those of his parish against the rest; those of the countryside against the towns of Lisdoonvarna and Ennistymon; those of North Clare against other sections of the county; those of Clare against all other counties; those of his class against all others; of his religion against all others; of his nation against all others. Each one of these allegiances has a geographical base, though in the last analysis each one of these is built up out of his personal experience of human relations. 621 186

A study of the local community among the small farmers must thus be a study of the geographic basis of their relationships. In the course of such study an inquiry into the spatial relationships involved in the distribution of produce and shop goods between the farms and the market towns is a first step. 621

The chief agencies of distribution in the countryside draw upon well-marked areas. Each crossroad shop, each hamlet, each market town, each fair, has its own hinterland. In recent years creameries have grown up at strategic places. Likewise, in the same years, larger towns have pushed their hinterlands farther back into the country districts, and motor lorries go even into the back roads. 438

The definition of such market areas and the demarcation of those into which such a rural county as Clare can be divided is a relatively simple task. It can be reached by plotting out on the map lists of customers' names and addresses obtained from each of the myriad crossroad centers and clusters of shops sprinkled over the county, combining them with others obtained from records of tolls paid by

438 farmers in larger centers. This information can be checked with the testimony of farmers themselves as to where they do their buying and selling. It can be checked again with testimony upon the part of shopkeepers in the market towns as to the area from which they draw their clientele.

Plotting out these lists gives a picture of many superimposed areas. The smallest of all of them groups only a few townlands together about a crossroad or a hamlet. These areas about hamlets cluster together in turn, along the roads, to form larger areas about a village. The area about a village groups together with that round other villages, again depending upon the terrain and the roads, to form a larger district around one of the larger towns. These town-encircling areas themselves fall together to form still larger districts embracing all the farms trading in the largest centers such as Ennis, the county seat of 6,000 population, Kilrush, the metropolis of the West Clare peninsula of 4,000 population, and the city of Limerick. For Limerick draws farmers along the main roads as far as Newmarket-on-Fergus, fifteen miles into Clare. The whole county, of course, centers ultimately in Limerick, since rail, road, and river all lead there rather than over the upland divides to Galway city to the north.

443 Local fairs figure in this plotting. Traditional long-established fairs are sometimes not held within the confines of a town of the present day, though all but a few of them now take place in the streets of some town or on a modern fair-green set aside at one edge of a town. Nevertheless, the areas from which farmers come to fairs yield the same picture of overlapping distributions. The smaller fairs of little attendance draw from the smaller areas, which group together in turn. Widest of all are the areas of the largest fairs, held at Ennis and Kilrush. And there is not a village to be found on the map that does not have its fairs, carefully scheduled so that within the immediate area there will be

no conflict of schedules. The farmer may go this week to a small village fair two miles or so away in one direction, next week three miles or so in another, and the third week to a larger town.

The list of cattle, sheep, horse, and pig fairs within County Clare given in Table 8 is taken from *Old Moore's*, the farmer's almanac. *Old Moore's* has hung in every farmer's house for nearly a century. It is his infallible guide. A glance at the map of Clare will show how many are the fairs within even a very small compass of a few miles.

TABLE 8

CALENDAR OF FAIRS IN COUNTY CLARE, 1934

Ballina, March 28
Ballyket, March 22, July 4, August 17 (cattle), December 1
Ballynacally, February 28, April 14, June 14, July 30, September 16, November 8
Ballyvaughan, May 29, June 24, September 16, December 18
Bauroe, *see* Feakle
Bridgetown, January 24, April 18, June 10, November 25
Broadford, April 13, June 21, September 13, November 21
Carrigaholt, June 1, July 5, August 19 (cattle, pigs, and sheep)
Clare Castle, May 30 (pigs day previous), November 11 (pigs day previous)
Clonroad (Ennis), May 8, July 31, October 13, December 2
Connolly, January 2, April 17, July 18, October 3
Corofin, February 19, May 20, July 20, September 12, November 22, December 14 (cattle, sheep, and pigs)
Doonbeg, February 8, April 1, May 2, July 1 and 26, October 8, December 16
Ennis (*see also* Clonroad), January 5 (sheep), 6, 11 (pigs only), February 2, 8 (pigs only), March 2, 3, 8 (pigs only), April 4 (horses and sheep), 5, 10 (pigs only), 16 (cattle), 18 and 19 (sheep), May 10 (pigs only), June 14 (pigs only), July 12 (pigs only), August 9 (pigs only), September 4 (cattle and sheep), 13 (pigs only), October 11 (pigs only), November 8 (pigs only), December 13 (pigs only)
Ennistymon, January 22, February 12, March 24, April 15, May 15, July 2, August 22, September 29, November 19, December 13. Pig market last Tuesday of each month
Feakle, January 24, February 17 (Bauroe), March 24, April 24, May 17 (Bauroe), June 20, July 24, August 17 (Bauroe), September 24, October 24, November 17 (Bauroe), December 20
Kilclaran, June 1
Kildysart, January 21, February 20, March 15, April 24, May 22, July 15, August 27, October 24, December 18. Pig fair second Thursday of each month
Kilenena, March 11, June 13, September 12, December 12
Kilfenora, February 25, April 9, June 2, August 15, October 9, November 4 (cattle, sheep, and pigs)
Kilkee, January 8, February 24, April 15, May 13, July 10. August 13, October 5. November 26. Pig fair second Tuesday of each month
Kilkishen, January 20, March 15, May 9, August 31, December 23

TABLE 8 (*continued*)

443 Killaloe, third Monday in January, February 28, March 28, April 12, May 20, June 26, July 16, August 12, September 3, October 20, November 17, first Tuesday after Christmas, cattle and sheep

Kilmihill, January 7, February 15, March 30, May 19, July 18, August 15, September 28, November 1, December 13

Kilmurry M'Mahon, May 24

Kilrush, last Wednesday in each month, for pigs; January 16, February 22, April 13, May 10, June 12, September 1, October 12, November 16, for cattle and sheep; March 25, first Thursday in June, October 10, November 23, for horses

Labasheeda, June 10, August 10, October 10, December 10

Liscannor, January 6

Lisdoonvarna, April 1, May 1, November 1, December 1

Miltown Malbay, February 1, March 9, May 4, June 21, August 11, September 10, October 18, December 9. Pigs first Thursday of each month

Mullagh, January 1, March 17

Newmarket-on-Fergus, December 20

O'Brien's Bridge, March 18, July 25, November 17

O'Callaghan's Mills, June 27, November 14

Quin, July 7 (cattle and sheep), November 1 (horses, cattle, and sheep)

Ruane, June 17, September 26

Scarriff, January 5, February 1, March 3, April 3, May 1, June 2, July 5, August 2, September 6, October 4, November 3, December 9, pigs day previous

Sixmilebridge, December 5

Spancil-hill, June 23, 24

Tulla, last Tuesday in January and February, March 25, April 25, May 13, June 15, July 19, August 15, September 29, October 19, November 9, December 7

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133 In these ever-larger overlapping market areas the natural physical divisions of the countryside are well represented. The great central mass of Mount Callan divides West Clare from the rest of the county. It divides as well the market districts of Ennis and Kilrush. In the valley of the Fergus River, which drains the highlands of Mid-Clare to the north and East Clare beyond the corcasses (rough marshlands) to the east, the human flow of trade and produce exchange tends downward to the towns of Ennis and Clarecastle, at the head of tidewater. The high country marking the divides over into the Inagh and Cullinagh rivers and into the lake country of North Clare, just south of the gaunt hills 438 of Burren, divides the market district of Ennis from the smaller districts upon which the villages of Ennistymon, Corrofin, and Lisdoonvarna draw. Yet these villages in their turn are within the region of Clare from which the

farmers converge upon Ennis. In each case a center, 438
whether a larger market town or one of the smaller villages,
serves a natural area demarcated by the configuration of the
land and the course of the roads.

In such natural regions, particularly in more remote and 491
mountainous country, the roads determine the intercourse 361
of the communities with one another. Today each focal
point is joined with another by a motor road. As the roads 438
wind out from the larger centers, shops come to be placed
at the strategic crossroad; a public house springs up; perhaps
a schoolhouse, a parochial house, a chapel of the parish, rise
beside them. Nowadays creameries are put up at these or
still other points along the roads, where they are most conveniently
accessible to small and medium farms producing
milk. Even more recently lorries have begun to come direct [494]
to the crossroad to pick up produce that once, before motor
traffic, had to be carried by the farmers themselves all the
way to town.

Plotting out the market areas of the towns and villages 438
of the countryside reveals a characteristic of social and economic space even here where the deepest hinterlands are never more than a half-day's leisurely trip by horse and cart. Any list of customers plotted by residence around a minor center gives an area which extends considerably farther in the direction away from the nearest larger center than it does in the direction leading to it. The minor centers draw principally from the hinterlands behind them and their areas extend only a little way along the roads in the direction of the next larger center. Ennistymon in North Clare draws custom twelve miles to the north, but to the south its influence reaches only three miles up the valley of the Inagh River, where the region of the larger center, Ennis, begins. Ennis itself serves all Clare, and its own immediate area extends, to judge from the residences of the farmers who come to buy and sell in her markets, beyond Ennistymon

438 to the north and as far as Killadysert to the south. In the direction of Limerick, the metropolis of southwest Ireland, however, the influence of Ennis ends at Newmarket-on-Fergus, a scant five miles off.

491 Today the roads both great and small provide all-weather
494 routes for every kind of local traffic. They carry many lorries
496 and not a few buses in competition with the only local railroad — the small and winding West Clare Railroad, which joins Kilrush and Kilkee to Ennis and Limerick in the east, and Gort and Galway in the north, tapping Ennistymon and Corrofin on the way through, all this in the roundabout leisurely fashion of the earlier days of railroading.

The main roads are much more direct. They follow
491 divides and occasionally cut right across high bog country. Today they negotiate bogs, which once would have prohibited any sort of transportation during wet weather, by dint of side ditches and high crowns of gravel and dirt. Over high country they have better foundations and wander in comparatively straight fashion through the country.

491 At various points along these main roads there are
653 branches today penetrating the countryside. These are rougher and simpler constructions of crushed stones taken from local quarries, leased by the County Council. The stone is broken by laborers and small farmers of the district through which the road runs. In the case of the smaller roads each landholder is responsible for the bit of the road that runs by his land. "Road metal," as the crushed stone is called, is spread during the late autumn, winter, or very early spring. When the weather is dry, in summer, a fine white dust rises after every vehicle. But in the rainy months of spring and winter the roads are soft and full of chuck
holes, and new stones must be laid down. Then the heavy
493 iron-tired carts of the farmers break them further and press them into the soft roadbeds.

The interlocking net of roads covering Clare high and 491
low must have been fairly complete at an early period. In
high country many of the roads were "famine roads," built [731]
to give relief during the "bad times." In lower, richer land they are older. They ran originally from one concentration of estates to another, reflecting the older social order. Even today there is still a considerable amount of new road building carried on by local authorities, opening up districts which formerly had little or no communication with the
outside world. There are still many farmhouses and village 361
clusters of farmhouses far away from any improved road in 491
higher country. Their inhabitants rely on rough borheens [487]
and stony trails leading from the nearest road. Many such isolated houses were originally built in inaccessible parts of hills and bogs to keep their owners from the eyes of bog rangers and estate stewards and to hide them from the threat of eviction.

Today the roads are kept up by the county government 491
and the state. The system of road labor is very old. Private
contracts for stones, maintenance, and repair and gang work 653
under county officials are still important sources of outside work for the farm communities and occasions of local relief important in county politics.

The small farmer today uses five principal methods of 493
travel. Choice among these is determined by the nature of 494
one's errand and the status of the traveler.

The motor car is the newest and most costly method of transport. Small farmers do not own motor cars. They hire them from the towns when occasion arises. The motor car is still in process of introduction into the Irish Free State. In the countryside it is used only in time of crisis and high ceremony. If a member of a farm family needs hospital attention, he is removed to the nearest hospital, either in a private motor car or in the free county ambulance. At a wedding and an important funeral a family may engage

493 494 two or three motor cars for important guests and the principals. At election time the local political organizations of the national parties provide free transport to the polls for the old and lame. In all else the motor car is the mark of the townsman, either the produce-collector in his lorry or the man of influence on a jaunt.

493 494 554 Even at such times of high ceremony as weddings, funerals, and elections the country people still use the horse and trap or sidecar. This is the traditional mode of polite travel, and it retains its popularity today. The trap is used only by the whole family or by its adult farm-owning members. It is used only in connection with activities of importance which mark their own status and those to whom they travel. It is always used at funerals and marriages. It sometimes transports all the family in Sunday best to church. It is brought out to honor a visitor or announce the arrival or departure of a friend. And it is used occasionally on visits of state to the town. Sunday clothes always go with it. It would be a very big farmer who used the trap in all his trips to town.

493 494 The vehicle-of-all-work, and the one on which produce goes to market and shop-bought goods come back, is the common two-wheeled cart. The farmers call it a "car." With the addition of side boards it becomes a "creel" and can carry small livestock, turf, and many another bulky object. Occasionally it appears on Sunday, but one never sees it in times of high ceremony such as in a funeral procession. It is the vehicle of everyday working life. Even the younger members of the family may use it sometimes in going about their work. But it is most often to be seen in the hands of the man of the house.

The ass and car, on the other hand, ordinarily has no such eminence. The donkey cart is a woman's vehicle. It takes her and her farm produce to and from the crossroad center. In a town market it is no accident that one can find the

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ass-carts among the poultry sellers or with the pigs, but 493
seldom in the corn or cattle markets. 494

Another modern vehicle has worked its way into farm life. The bicycle is used by all ages and both sexes. But in poorer districts it is principally used by adult men, especially among the smaller farmers. Children go on foot. The bicycle is an informal and individual means of conveyance, ideal for visiting, for the pursuits and pleasures of young men and women, and for quick trips to the local crossroad center.

Finally, the country people travel a great deal on foot. 481
At work one travels nearly always on foot. Distances are short, and the vehicles one has are needed for carrying. On Sunday most people walk to mass, even where it means a long walk over the fields. In any procession of country life the majority of persons taking part are always afoot. In running petty errands to "friends," neighbors, and the local shop
one goes on foot. Habit wears many paths across the fields [487]
in many directions. It makes one very expert at avoiding hazards of mud and wet. But nearly all foot journeys find the road soon or late.

To complete the picture of rural travel, one must add 493
perforce two more vehicles. One is very new and just be- 494
ginning to make its influence felt, though only on the main roads between the large cities and towns. This is the motor bus. Today a few persons have begun to travel beyond the market towns to the cities for their more important business, and in the movement lies much of one side of the picture of the decline of the middle-sized towns in rural Ireland.
The other and last means of transport is the horse. Only 492
adults among the country people ever ride him, either for sport or for transport. The horse is first a work animal, then a sporting beast. In either case he is the special care and interest of the adult man.

The methods of transport in the countryside are related 000

489 The methods of transport in the countryside are related to the distances to be traveled and the errands to be run. These things are matters of the organization and relationships of family and community. It is not only the means of transport which can be related to the constituent relationships of country social life. Each kind of farm product exported and farm need purchased involves a different distance of travel, a holder of a different status in family and community, and a different relation with the outsider.

489 443 438 The goods the farmer produces travel to the centers at which they are exchanged over distances which are commensurate with their value, their importance in farm economy, and their association with the status of the persons in the rural communities under whose charge they are produced. Horses take most care, are most valuable, and are the very special charge of the man of the house. The horse fair accordingly draws from the largest area. Cattle are the great money crop, the export staple. Accordingly the cattle fairs are among the chief lodestones of the larger centers, drawing from the deepest hinterlands of the major market areas. They are masculine affairs. Likewise potatoes and corn crops, oats, come to market only in the major centers. Farm fathers bring them down by horse and car from the deepest hinterlands.

Pigs represent a much shorter period of work and care. They are often in woman's province. The pig fairs are smaller gatherings, held in small centers, drawing from small hinterlands. Lesser vegetables, principally cabbage, travel no such distance as potatoes, and women often sell them. Finally, butter and eggs travel the shortest distance of all. They are often bartered at the crossroad centers. Before creameries were introduced, salted firkins or tubs of butter, representing a longer accumulation, went longer distances to the village centers.

234 438 Creamery associations were not established until the middle of the time of research in County Clare. They are

part of a new economics which brings distributing agencies 234
to the farmer's door. Consequently they do not fit this picture 438 and are among the great forces of gradual change. They have made dairying the pursuit of the farm father, as it was not before. Like motor lorries, they represent the new geographic order that is gradually overcoming the old.

The goods that reach the farmer cover distances between 438
their ultimate distributing center and consumer in the farm 462
families in the same proportion as they are bound in with
the statuses and relationships in work and life of the familistically 484 organized groups. The men go to the larger towns with or without their wives for the larger annual purchases of boots and cloth goods or furniture or tools and implements. The boys may go for the more ordinary purchases of flour and foodstuffs and feeds and so on, to be bought in their fathers' names, to the local centers and villages. The household needs from day to day are the women's province. Tallow, candles, oil, sugar, tea, are to be had either in the villages or in the crossroad centers. The only need the men may fill so close to home is the recurrent hunger for tobacco and drink.

If we turn this view of travel and distribution and personal relationship into generality, we see that the pattern is such that it fits those of community life we have described. In the masculine sphere of life the disposal of produce means masculine travel and masculine building of relationship with the outside world of greatest geographical range. Taking each item of masculine produce in the descending order of its importance to the farm families, the area out of which the product is brought to a center is progressively smaller. The same fact is true of the feminine produce, with the difference, of course, that the range is smaller to begin with. The area of widest contacts established by women and the areas drawn upon by women and the areas

438 drawn upon by centers of distribution of women's produce
462 are always much less in extent than those of men.

484 It is not enough to point out that the distance to be
traveled and the size of the area which a center serves are in
438 direct proportion to the monetary value of the goods con-
484 cerned. This is the case. It is an old story among economists.
571 But like all generalities it does not fail to have many exceptions. The point of interest is not the monetary but the sociological aspect of the matter.

Areas of distributive service coincide roughly with areas of personal contact and habitual travel. They coincide also with areas of effective social relationship. Thus there is a direct correlation between the area over which a peasant moves and has social relations and the value of the product he raises, as the economist would point out. But the source of this correlation is not to be found in economic considerations alone. The economic matters are themselves the outcome of the patterning of activities between persons. They show us the interdependence of the internal organization of the peasant community and the relationships making that community's articulation with the outside world.

Nothing in the world prevents any small farmer from going to Dublin markets to sell his cattle, not even the price of the ticket, for he has that. But he goes only so rarely as to make the fact negligible. On the other hand, the big farmer, the cattleman, in County Clare habitually goes farther, buying and selling far beyond the confines of the local market areas, purchasing his household and family goods in the great urban centers, patronizing even a Dublin tailor sometimes. The difference in travel is a part once again of the difference by class and economy between large farmer and small. The small farmer's community is made up of the persons related to him who are also small farmers and the persons who connect these men with the outside world. This we saw in the discussion of occupations. The

market areas are the areas of effective, habitual relationship 438
among farmers. They are definable only in terms of social 484
relations made up of the acts of specific local persons. Such
relations differ in duration and the frequency of the events 571
making them up. Change such relations and geography
is changed. For a human setting geography is merely the
locus of relationship. The system of distribution that orders
space in rural Ireland functions to do so within a system of
social relations, which we have called familism.

It is not surprising that the relationships existing between 444
the small farmers and their local distributing agencies go
farther by far than economic acts of barter, purchase, and 571
sale. The country crossroad shopkeepers, especially, win
very special status in rural communities out of these
relationships. In Ireland and in Clare shopkeeping is predominantly
an urban and small-town trade. Yet shops are
numerous and important in the country districts, and a word
must be said of them.

In typical western rural communities the smallest and 444
poorest of the crossroad shops, serving the minutest areas,
are ordinary cottages or farmhouses. The slightest alteration
has sufficed to turn one of the rooms into an emporium
where makeshift till, counter, and shelves carry little more
than tobacco, matches, oil, and a few sweets and small
sundries.

Such a shop is usually run by a woman, who subsists upon
it and a plot of land or garden. She is often a widow, or the
wife of a local tradesman. In many cases the little shop is [205]
the local post office as well, and a salary from the state contributes
to the owner's upkeep. Such a shop is sometimes,
too, a local gathering place for the boys, in the way the local
smithy once was such a gathering place. The boys get their
fags here. It is encumbent upon the woman who keeps [431]
the shop to make them presents at Christmas time, in recognition
of their custom. Everyone agrees that the woman

444 subsists only because she is a part of the local community. Though she charges a bit more, she spares one the longer walk to the village center.

Country shops are often larger than hers. Sometimes where the distance to the village center is greater, they sell nearly everything one could get in town, outside the specialized drapers' or hardware, boot, and shoe shops. They sell all the farm staples, such as groceries, sugar, flour, tea, and tobacco. Here people may come from two or three miles around. The farmers all know they pay more, but the shop
[203 is a convenience. It may get the only newspaper in the district, and men drop in to hear the news. In the evenings a
571] local school of cards may flourish here and the boys foregather.

The country shop reaches its zenith at the crossroad, where a church, a parochial house, a school, and a creamery may stand as well. Here the shop often dates from the days just after the famine and has had a long history of prosperity. In the past generation many such crossroads produced county councillors, and the rewards of public service often meant the acquisition of several rich farms in addition to the shop. The shop serves the surrounding countryside and collects its produce, and it derives its reward from the service it performs.

441 The position of the country shopkeeper is to be found in his place within the system of relations which make up the
565 community of small farmers behind his shop. His function
571 as economic agent of distribution is only part of his role. He is in a situation which must be described as a perpetual seesaw. If he is drawn too far within the local community, he loses contact with the outside world. If he is drawn too far outward, he loses touch with his customers. He must maintain a balance in a delicate equilibrium.

He is caught within a pattern of mutual obligations to the farmers on the one hand and the social system of the

town classes on the other. Let it suffice to show his place 441
that in a recitation of such a shopkeeper's intimates and 565
associates it is most often not the farmers but the members 571
of the community who are in a similar position who figure. His associates are the parish priest, the schoolmaster, the local police, and the local "rancher." When marriages are made for his daughters, they are made with big farmers, and husbands are got at considerably greater distances than in the case of the small farmers. Along with his associates, he makes up the rural middle class, at once a halfway point and a channel of movement for the infiltration of gradual change, poised between the small farmers of the countryside and the middle and upper classes of the urban centers.

Other agencies of exchange and contact between rural communities and the outside world are as much overlaid with social sentiment and custom expressive of valuations upon local status as is the position of the crossroad shopkeeper. The form of exchange is ceremonial, and a ritual exists to express much more than the mere mechanism of contact and exchange.

The two chief occasions of economic exchange outside 443
the shops at the crossroad or in the towns are the best examples of such ceremonial. Let us take the fairs first. The fairs are still the most important mechanism of exchange between the small farm producers and the middlemen who start farm produce upon its journey to the ultimate consumer. Nothing has risen to threaten them seriously even in this day of economic complexity. The farmers of the rural hinterland of towns and villages journey with cattle, pigs, corn, and wool to market, to sell them that day or else to carry them home again. Some big farmers sell from the land direct to dealers and jobbers. A few small farmers sell direct to neighbors. These are exceptions, and sales in market and fair are well-nigh universal.

The fairs are not only universal, they are also elaborately

443 conventional. How much, if anything, survives of medieval commerce in them and how much comes down from the days of the medieval Irish *aonach* is a matter for the historian. In ancient times the fair was a gathering for purposes much more widely embracing than exchange of produce. The *aonach* was often the occasion of a royal or chieftainly court, a bardic contest, and local games. Nothing of this remains today.

443 424 Cattle, horse, sheep, and pig fairs are fixed, habitual occasions. Their dates and places of meeting are universal knowledge in the countryside. An extension of medieval English law has made most of them proprietary, making of the right to hold a fair a legal title to be bought and sold and charged for in the shape of tolls. But they are public occasions none the less.

443 The lore of fairs is an inexhaustible fund of information among the small farmers. Among them, indeed, the size of the local fairs is a matter of local pride. It is an index of the industry and wealth of the region. The state of prices is as much a clue to the fate of the local universe as the financial vagaries of Wall Street or the City reveal the destinies of the world.

443 462 562 All this is natural enough where fairs and local markets represent the chief outlets for produce and the chief source of monetary income. As cattle are the chief concern of the males of the family and source of ultimate success or failure for the family, so the cattle fair is the great testing ground for male prowess, skill, and intelligence. In the market place of the cattle fair, the male command of the family corporation and masculine representation of that corporation in the community makes public display of its stewardship. On this stage, the farmer can meet the outsider on his own terms and with his own weapons of shrewdness and experience.

437 443 The farmers criticize bitterly any departure from customary procedure. Even though they complain that the fair

gives advantage to the buyer rather than to themselves, 437
they would change nothing in it. Prowess in bargaining is 443
recognized and valued in every person. A man who is a [555]
good hand at bargaining or a good intermediary between
bargainers soon makes a name for himself. The man who
can drive a hard bargain gets a hearty respect from his
neighbors and wins a grudging respect even from his victims,
but the man who lets himself be bested wins scant
sympathy. At the same time, however, sharp or unfair
practice soon wins condemnation.

All this lore the child learns as he does man's work. He 443
is taken to fairs from the age of ten or so and stands on the 868
fair green or in the streets the long hours from dawn until
the last buyer leaves. He learns from actual experience and
finds his lessons reviewed again and again in the constant
discussion at home and on *cuaird* of prices, buyers, famous
bargains and bargainers.

At home the approach of a fair leaves no doubt as to the 521
importance of the event. Farmers talk of prospects for days 443
ahead. Each man is asked what he intends to try to sell, and
the merits and prospects of each beast are common coin.
Every man hazards his opinion as to what prices will be, how
they will compare with those of recent fairs in surrounding
villages, and what beasts will find the readiest market. In
the light of all this discussion the ordinary farmer makes up
his mind either to try his luck or wait for a better chance.

Should he decide to try his luck in the coming fair, he 443
has a well-established procedure to follow. He gathers his 484
stock together, gives them any special attention they may
need. If the fair is a long way off, he drives his bullocks 574
and heifers halfway there the day before and puts them 602
overnight in the field of a "friend" along the road. In this
he has the aid of a boy or a "friend," after the pattern of
kinship reciprocities.

On the day of the fair he is up as early as one or two in the 443
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443 484 morning. To dress, snatch a cup of tea, and bless himself takes only a moment. Usually he has arranged for companionship, and he and his neighbors drive their beasts along the roads together. Company makes the night less lonely and the handling of the animals easier. Driving them is a skilled task against the dangers of the road, both natural and eerie. The men hope to reach the site of the fair before daybreak. They want to arrive in time to find a "good pitch," as they call it. They want to take their stand in the drawn-up lines of men and beasts where buyers are most likely to notice them. His pitch taken, each man stands over his beasts, ready for the inspection of buyers, careful that his beasts do not wander off or get mixed up with the others.

443 438 [291] As dawn breaks, the buyers arrive. They are nearly always cattle dealers and big farmers. Only occasionally are they local men. One can recognize them as they hurry about, businesslike, wearing trench coat, bowler, and leggings. The costume is practically a uniform with them, quite different from the drab coats and boots of the countrymen. They carry chalk or scissors and pencils and a notebook to mark the beasts of their choice and record their purchases.

In the good days of high prices, as during the World War, the buyers arrive even before dawn and buy by lantern light. All the good beasts of the fair may be gone by the time the sun comes up. On occasions of little demand, however, the buyers have time to look about carefully and make the exhaustive tests of quality that long experience has convinced them are the secret of commercial success.

443 437 The procedure of choice, bargaining, and sale is as unchanging a ritual as any church provides. The buyer — dealer or farmer — strolls unconcernedly along the lines of farmers and their beasts. Here and there he greets an acquaintance. But he is appraising the animals all the while. Rigid custom forbids his breaking in on a bargain already

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1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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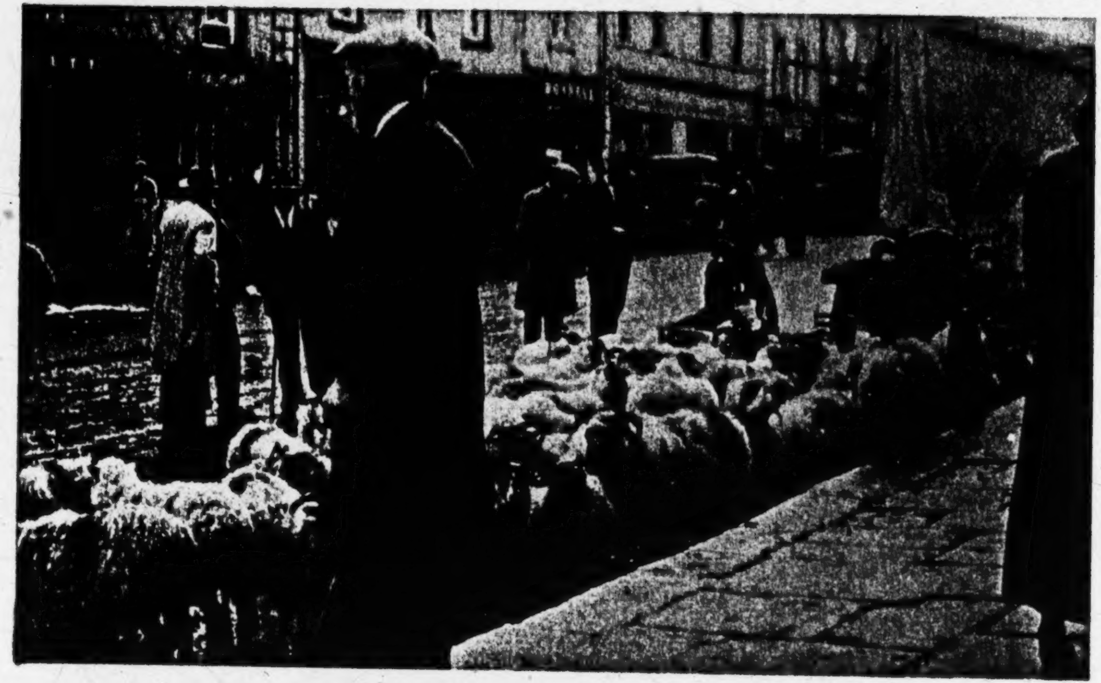
[facing p. 300]



SHEEP FAIR IN A MARKET TOWN

443 begun. He must find a farmer who is free for the moment.
437 Should he catch sight of an unoccupied owner of a likely animal, he crosses over to him and begins the business of the day. His first move is to ask the price, knowing well he will get one larger than the farmer really hopes to receive. This first exchange is merely the occasion for the closer inspection of the cattle and a notice to the other that a bargain is in process.

Such a move is a signal. As questions and offers pass between buyer and farmer, a crowd of bystanders soon collects. They offer suggestions, shout out commentaries, encourage one party or the other, contributing animatedly to the debate, which will eventually culminate in a sale at a price which instantly becomes the knowledge of buyers and sellers alike.

One of the bystanders almost invariably adopts a well-recognized role. He becomes an intermediary between buyer and seller. He turns all his energy, backed by the plaudits of the crowd, to the consummation of the sale. He may be a friend of either buyer or seller, brought in for his shrewdness or experience or skill, or he may be a wandering tinker in hopes of a commission from one or the other. He may even be only an interested bystander.

The intermediary is almost always a major factor in the transaction. He is the one who forges an agreement over the distrust and shyness of the farmer and the autocratic impatience of the buyer. All the parties are vociferous, the farmer in praise of his wares and the buyer in depreciation of them. The intermediary turns grandiose claims into laughter, wears down the resistance of the farmer by wit, and raises the offers of the buyer by appeals to fair dealing. Time and time again he will drag back a buyer who rushes off in well-feigned disgust at an outrageous demand or push forward the hand of a reluctant farmer to be seized by the buyer in the handclasp that marks completion of the sale.

443 Amid the encouragements of the bystanders, he repeats the
437 old bargaining cries. He shouts, "Split the difference!" when
taking-price and asking-price approach one another, and he wrings concessions from each party until agreement is reached. They end with a handshake between them. The sale is made.

If the buyer is ready to pay for his purchase on the spot, the older custom, all three parties step off the fair ground into any convenient near-by pub. There they celebrate the transaction at the expense of the buyer, the purchase money changes hands, and they make assurances all round. The seller turns back a "luck penny" out of the purchase price. This is a payment often as large as half a crown, depending upon the transaction, repaid to the buyer in token of good faith.

Custom is changing here. A large-scale dealer may have little time or inclination for such amenities. He may give the seller a ticket or slip of paper as his record of the transaction and arrange to see him later in the day. He stands, slip in hand, ready to receive payment in his turn. Later on, then, at the time arranged, the farmer takes his place with the others with whom the dealer has been dealing during the day. Even then the farmer usually gives back a luck penny, even though he knows the dealer may reckon it a reduction of price rather than a ceremonial gesture. For it is a traditional gesture of independence and equality on his part.

443 Fairs beginning at dawn are usually over by noon. By that time the farmers are clear that they must sell at a sacrifice or drive the beasts home unsold to wait for another day. If prices are good, eager buyers have snatched up everything except unsalable scrubs.

443 For the farmer this mart is more than a simple economic
437 exchange. The form of exchange is as important as the
exchange itself. It is an instance of traditional behavior

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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on the part of the small farmers, supported by sanctions and sentiment. In the ritual of bargaining and exchange in the fair, many relationships are acted out: the relations between farmer and farmer; the relations between farmers and their sons and the boys of their kindred; the relations between farmers and persons from the outside world of big farms, business and trade, and the towns. Throughout the whole of the proceedings one can see all these get a periodic, ceremonial reiteration here. 443 437

The economic circumstances of the fair are only part of the picture the fair presents. The fair and market are almost the only sources of monetary income for the farmers. They are the chief occasions for realizing the labor of a year's agricultural work. Consequently they are also the traditional occasions for settling debts, for making payments on accounts with shopkeepers. They are also the occasion of stocking up with everything from boots and clothes to feed and manure. 443

Indeed the fairs are the chief occasions of commercial and monetary activity in the agricultural counties. They are periodic high points of local activity in which laborers and local government have as much interest as the farmers. They are great events at which the economy of the western and southern parts of Ireland gets its only general, public, and spectacular circulation of funds. Yet they have a ceremonial side equally vivid.

The lining up of the farmers and their sons before their cattle to await the inspection and commencement of bargaining we must not idly dismiss as a mere convenience in bringing cattle to the attention of the prospective buyer. Like the other conventions of conduct in the fair, it deserves a careful treatment. These conventions can be put under a common explanatory scheme with those of farm life. In the arrangements of events in the fairs there are new events among persons which follow the same course as in the

443 daily life of the family members at home on the farm and in the rural community. But in this case there is a far different setting.

443 437 At a fair the dealers or buyers initiate transactions or terminate the bargaining at will. They are free to choose both the cattle they shall buy and the farmers with whom they shall deal. This is the same organization of relations between farmers and outsiders as that which prevails in the local community. The efforts of the intermediary and the emotional connotations of the luck penny as well as the grumbles of the farmers fit into this pattern of social and economic relations. There is some antagonism here, of the farmers against the others, but the solidarities of the two parties carry their own check. Prices may be so low that the farmers refuse to sell. Buyers band together to force a low price on various occasions. Resentments are mutual and common enough. But the ceremonial survives. It is an enactment of the community relations of the small farmers. It will change only as those relations change. The familistic farmer stands for himself, and his community is built only on gossip, public opinion, and common values. His mechanism of economic exchange expresses his social order and the community it serves.

443 Beside the cattle fairs there are fairs for dealing in sheep, pigs, and horses. These take much the same form, their complexity and importance depending upon the importance of the animal sold. Sheep, for example, are not so important in farm economy as cattle. Neither do they command such high prices. Consequently, sheep fairs are less imposing affairs, often held in conjunction with cattle fairs. The conventions are the same as in the cattle fairs.

443 437 Horse fairs again are very similar. Because of the higher value of the horse and the use of the horse for sport and ceremony among the upper classes, the horse fairs are less frequent than cattle fairs, but more elaborate. In the case of

cattle, the farmer must usually drive the beasts he has sold 443 437
to the station himself. In the case of horses, the buyer exercises a greater care. A deal is closed not only by the usual handclasps but by the change of halters as well. Horses are put through their paces very carefully, sometimes in secrecy off in a side field or down a dark street. The majority of horses are sold between farmers and destined for farm work, but there is always a strong atmosphere of riches and brilliant chance about the proceedings. Many are the tales of half-bred horses, picked up for a song, that have come to win all before them.

Since most of the fairs are legally proprietary, they are 443 424
protected by law. In many cases the towns have bought out the rights to tolls from private families, finding them a welcome source of revenue. To safeguard these rights, action may be brought against illicit buyers and sellers. In practice, however, it is only in horse-dealing that the owners of the tolls exercise vigilance, since there the tolls are so great. All this contributes to the atmosphere of importance that surrounds the horse fairs.

Pigs are sold more frequently, especially as they repre- 443
sent a great deal shorter period of development. Every town has its bonham and pig market. Every Saturday may witness a few transactions complete with the same rituals of inspection, repartee, and bargaining, but there are times of greater activity as well. It is generally only in pig markets that women are to be seen at fairs.

The second chief occasions of economic exchange, which afford further examples of the ceremonial surrounding the small farmer's mechanisms of contact with the outside world, are the produce markets of the towns. In them similar enactments of family and community relations are to be seen.

Each market town has its weekly market day. The day is fixed so as not to conflict with that of any other near-by

443 center. Only in the central largest town of a whole area is Saturday the market day *par excellence*. In Clare, for instance, only Ennis and Kilrush have Saturday markets. Smaller centers set other days of the week aside.

In the larger towns such markets may be held in stores and yards owned by the municipality. More often custom has set aside a section of a street or a central square for each kind of produce. In Ennis a separate yard and shed serves as a butter market, another yard and shed with a weighhouse serves for corn and wool. Pigs, lambs, cabbage, and other vegetables are sold in the streets.

The principal commodities sold at the weekly markets in Clare are oats, mangels, turnips, wool, potatoes, hay, straw, cabbage, calves, lambs, kids (an Easter delicacy), pigs, bonhams, chickens, geese, other poultry. Records of these sales itemize the commerce of the whole hinterland in agricultural produce. Public institutions in the town buy through contracts awarded to various suppliers, the weighing and delivery taking place through the public market. Dealers for each product visit the markets. Even those who have come recently to use lorries that tour the country crossroads still appear at the weekly markets.

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438 For those interested in a typical view of this kind of commerce, Table 9 presents a picture of the tolls received in the town of Ennis during the years 1927–33. The table is arranged as a calendar and gives average toll receipts for each product for each month during the period. One can see the monthly fluctuations at a glance and the annual periods of activity in sales. The chief change during the period was the dropping off of butter sales, a fact accounted for by the rise of creameries in other parts of the county and the introduction of the lorry. Otherwise sales were of much the same volume each year. As the tolls were constant during the period charted, the figures are a very good index to the local produce marketed.

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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[p. 307]

## TABLE 9

### SALES OF ENNIS MARKET, 1927–1933 *

| Item | April | May | June | July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | Jan. | Feb. | March |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cattle ........ | £54.00 | ? [a] | 0 | 0 | 0 | 20.00 | ? [e] | 0 | ? [g] | 30.00 | 41.00 | 44.00 |
| Sheep ........ | £19.00 | ? [b] | 0 | ? [c] | 0 | ? [d] | ? [f] | 0 | ? [h] | 3.00 | 4.00 | 3.00 |
| Butter ........ | £ 8.00 | 18.00 | 25.00 | 27.00 | 32.00 | 28.00 | 26.00 | 15.00 | 6.00 | 4.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 |
| Potatoes ...... | £14.00 | 9.00 | 6.00 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 5.00 | 6.00 | 7.00 | 9.00 | 9.00 | 17.00 |
| Roots ........ | £ 3.00 | .75 | .13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 5.00 | 4.00 | 4.00 |
| Corn ........ | £ 3.00 | .50 | .13 | 0 | 0 | 12.00 | 30.00 | 29.00 | 17.00 | 8.00 | 5.00 | 9.00 |
| Hay ........ | £13.00 | 1.00 | .13 | .13 | 1.50 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 | 9.00 |
| Wool ........ | £ .75 | 2.00 | 13.00 | 7.00 | 3.00 | 4.00 | 7.00 | 2.00 | .50 | .20 | 1.00 | .50 |
| Pigs ........ | s62 | 56 | 37 | 46 | 76 | 118 | 115 | 118 | 118 | 94 | 84 | 90 |
| Bonhams ..... | s122 | 155 | 111 | 84 | 94 | 99 | 117 | 115 | 64 | 42 | 59 | 112 |

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* Toll receipts are given in pounds or hundredths of pounds except in the case of the last two, which are given in shillings. The figures are average total receipts for the month named over the six-year period.

[a] Figures only for 1928, 1932 (£49, £11 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.

[b] Figures only for 1928, 1932 (£22, £17 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.

[c] Figures only for 1932 (£4). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.

[d] Figures only for 1931, 1932 (£8, £12 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.

[e] Figures only for 1932 (£18). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.

[f] Figures only for 1931, 1932 (£35, £37 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.

[g] Figures only for 1932 (£11). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.

[h] Figures only for 1931, 1932 (£9, £10 respectively). Presumably no fairs tolled other years.

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437
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In buying and selling in the town markets, bargaining ritual is very much the same as in the fairs. Every seller must negotiate for himself, but the luck penny is neglected. The sexual division of labor on the farm is amply represented. The women stand over and bargain about their eggs, butter, and poultry. Men alone are to be seen dealing in pigs, lambs, wool, and corn. Yet it is not unusual to see a woman dealing for a sack of potatoes or for bonhams.

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In all these transactions the usual ritual of bargaining appears. It is customary, though in a curtailed and abbreviated form, in the purchasing that the small farmer does in the shops. It appears wherever persons of diverse allegiance are brought together in the life of the farmers. It appears, as we have seen, in the making of a match between two families. Like monetary payment for services, it figures only in the external relations of the farmers' groups. Indeed, it is the behavior characteristically connected with monetary payment.

Occasionally a small farmer buys from another in his own community, but the practice is rare. Goods change hands rather through the mechanisms of borrowing and gifts in the patterns of kinship and cooring. The difference of behavior must be referred to the different relationships.

# CHAPTER XIV

# *Conclusion*

ENOUGH has been said already to demonstrate the conclusion to which the study of rural behavior and social organization in the communities of the small farmers leads. The sociological conditions of Irish rural life are those determined in a system of relationships among persons based upon the Irish form of the family, family subsistence, and familistic custom. The demographical indices of population cannot be understood except in such a context.

Each topic of local life and custom, and each statistical index, as we have examined it, has led us back into this nucleus of organization among the small farmers. Something in the course of events prescribed there by the habitual arrangement of human lives existing in the small farmers' homes and communities has always lain behind the form of custom and the kind of attitude we have encountered. Something in that course of events has always likewise lain behind the numerical indices demographic count has yielded the census-taker.

This something is of the nature of an interdependent variable. The Irish small farmers of the present day behave as they do in the matters in which we have investigated them because they are members of a social system of a certain kind. A system implies a state of equilibrium in which elements are in mutual dependence. If change is introduced

1:Arensberg & Kimball E-5 (1932-1934) 1940
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182 at one point, change follows at another. If the first change is not too great — that is, if it is not so great that destruction of the system ensues [1]— then subsequent changes do not alter the situation out of recognition. Far from it, since the elements are woven into a common whole, the effect of the change is soon dissipated. The system reverts to its former state. It may be said to have thus an equilibrium which it regains after each disturbance.

The doctrine of mutual dependence within a system helps us far more in understanding the events of life among the country people of Ireland than any ascription of cause and effect. The sorts of behavior we have dealt with do not have a single cause. They must be referred to a setting which must be looked at as a whole. Likewise the historical, economic, or personal events which impinge upon the country people of our communities do not ever succeed in changing very much either the people or what is really coterminous with them, their pattern of life. The traditional custom of life persists and continues to wield its power in essentially similar fashion decade after decade and generation after generation. Change goes on, in plenty, but it is gradual change of outlines already existing. It is no new departure.

Yet that custom operates always within a framework of relations uniting the same persons by various paths in space and having various histories in time. On each farm and among most of the farms of each area one cares to describe, these relations have certain uniformities. They turn up over and over again, and the course of events which they follow repeats itself in essentially similar fashion over and over. Circumstances alter cases, but not very far. Custom is not to be separated from this framework. The fol-

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[1] For a discussion of the theory of the equilibrium of a social system, the reader is referred to *The Social Theory of Pareto*, by L. J. Henderson (Harvard University Press, 1936).

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lowers of customary behavior are those related in uniform fashion through the recurrence of similar events.

We are now ready, therefore, to make a summary and tentative definition of the communities and families of the Irish countryside. The definition is also an interpretation of the behavior of the persons concerned. It is also, too, an explanation of the events of human life in which they take part. And lastly, it is a social psychology of the country people.

In the discussion of each topic, the outlines of such a summary have become clearer and clearer. New events and new patterns of action fell into place as we drew their connection with old ones. Recapitulating this progress, let us take a step toward putting these connections in an abstract and general form. The sociology of the Irish rural life and small-farm subsistence is largely a matter of the anatomy of two institutions of characteristic form. These are the family and the rural community. The latter, in turn, cannot be described apart from the former. It is a framework of long-term customary relationships uniting persons beyond their family ties. Together these two unite essentially all the persons of the rural areas. With a few other institutions not here described (not, however, autonomous as are family and community), such as the parish (the formal, hierarchic community of religious belief and observance), they make up the entire anatomy of the small-farm class, the largest in the land.

Taking these two alone, however, what can we say of this framework of relationships upon which custom moves? It is a master system articulating five major subsidiary systems. These five comprise:

1. *The relationships of the familistic order.* These are the pattern of family life and subsistence, and its extension in kinship reckoning, obligation, and coöperation. They undergo periodic re-formation at the match and effect the dispersal of

emigrants and the continuity of the pattern of farm subsistence.

2. *The relationships of age grading, or generation.* These are uniform habitual relations of persons of locally subsistent families who are similar and dissimilar in age. For each person we can trace them to specific events of interaction patterned by custom and compatible with the behavior of familism. In the large, they make up a structure of cliques or age groups, usually of persons of similar sex. Such cliques are opposed to one another, yet integrated under the headship of one of them, that of the heads of families, the so-called "old men." They are characterized by activities of discussion, gossip, and recreation, and make for common and long-established values and opinions, and membership in them bestows certain status, limited, however, by family status.

3. *The relationships of sex organization.* These are relations among persons, similarly the growth of habitual conduct, uniting the same persons of locally subsistent families who are similar and dissimilar by sex. They make up an organization of behavior canalizing the sexual drives in the direction of family life and forming a common attitude toward sexual behavior and a common norm of conduct and standard of sexual morality. This organization is compatible with that of familism and that of age grading and may be said to reinforce both. It also is capable of providing a standard for differentiating farmers from others.

4. *The relationships of local division of labor.* These are still other relations, similarly formed among the same persons, uniting those of similar and different occupation and technical skill. These involve action dealing with goods and services of practical value to the farmers and their subsistence. They fit the persons of a locality into two categories of relationship, depending upon those persons' association with other local persons on the one hand and their connections with persons beyond local ken on the other. The customary behavior marking the relations of the first of these categories duplicates that of familism in many ways and affords status similar to that found in age organization. The behavior marking the relations of the second of these categories does not. It is in this latter case only that class difference makes its appearance in the country districts. Those of higher class than the farmer, in his own community, are those who have connections extending beyond the range of his associates.

5. *The relationships of economic exchange and distribution in fairs and markets.* Finally there are still further relations among these persons, uniting them over space among themselves and with others from outside the local area in effecting the transfer of farm produce outward and the distribution of non-local goods and services inward. These relations are habitual, customary, and in many cases ceremonial, as in the fairs. They represent a form of organization reflecting familism, age, sex, and local technical organization.

These five classes of relationships summarize the incidents, biographies, and events that are here observed and described. They are a classification of them that has explanatory force. They do not themselves explain every event. But they point out to us, as does any faithful map, where we must look. All together they make up a configuration of social patterns, set off and different from others in Ireland. All together as a system, they determine events in the countryside. No event can be understood with reference to them. No sociological or demographical index can be interpreted without them.

This master system is the framework of social life in the countryside. It is the form of the social network in which the greater part of the Irish population are points. It is the system of forces in which any doing of the small farmers, or anything done to them, is a movement, a change of direction, an impact either from within or without.

If a view of the conditions which administrators or legislators of any institution, governmental or private, might wish to attack is to be realistic and adequate, it must take this master system into account. It must be wide enough to allow for its existence. It is not enough to plan an attack as a unilateral action from above. One must know and assess the place in the system into which an action might fit. It is not enough to institute an agency of reform or take an economic measure or put into effect regulatory devices on the basis of a single limited purpose or a single 000

580 simple diagnosis. The equilibrium of the system must not be forgotten. If it is forgotten, disaster will not follow, in the ordinary case. The social organism is very tough and can stand a great deal of rough handling. But failure of the measure will follow. If the measure is merely a wishful effort, a sop to constituents, a gesture of good will, or an act of ritual or propaganda, its failure is no matter. But, if it is a sincere attempt at changing conditions, for whatever purpose or desire, its failure will be all the more perplexing. Today, in all the civilized countries, conscious efforts at social change are being made. Complexity is too great and problems too pressing to continue to rely as of old upon the traditional tools of politics: intuition, compromise, and a flair for practicalities. Great centralized bureaucracies have grown up in each country, even in one so small as Ireland. If they are to be effective, they must know the societies they serve. For them an understanding of local scenes and local social organisms, so remote from bureaucratic headquarters and national capitals, becomes more and more essential.

The foregoing remarks do not apply to Ireland any more than to any other country. The extension of central authority is a universal phenomenon of the age, probably a result of the new technology of science. Yet it has its applications in the case of Ireland as well. It is not for foreigners, such as the authors, to offer suggestions to the Irish people and their government. The Irish have demonstrated quite amply an enviable ability to rule themselves. Besides, the role of the academic man is to provide the tools of theory, not the recipes for action.

Nevertheless, one of the central problems of Irish economic and social life today stands in great need of a theoretical formulation such as is here advanced. The matter of demographical conditions — continuous emigration, decline of population, delay of marriage, and rise of bachelorhood

— is a persistent and recalcitrant phenomenon. It seems to resist every change and every attack. No one knows why.

Yet the reason for resistance is simple enough. The matter escapes every observer and evades every attack upon the problem merely because no observer has conceived it adequately. Social conditions are the products of social systems. Yet attacks on them are predicated, as in this case, on the assumption that they are simple effects of simple causes.

The argument is the familiar argument. The phenomenon is conceived only as an economic one. Human action is merely the pursuance of economic goals. In this case, the argument runs specifically, the matter is the result of poverty. Since the condition persists, it is a matter of "endemic" poverty. One has only to change the cause, do away with the poverty, and all else will right itself.

Such a view is inadequate by virtue of two counts. On the first count, it hides a fallacy that vitiates it from the start. The fallacy is this: It asserts, in its very premise, that people act according to logic in pursuance of their wants. As a statement of a theory of economic exchange, the assertion is impeccable. As an approximation to what men actually do in social life away from the market place, or as a description of what in particular those men who are the marriage-less small farmers do, it is valueless. None of the many very well designed attacks upon the problems of rural poverty and rural employment in Ireland has had the slightest effect on demographic conditions. Yet the level of prosperity, by every account, is much greater than ever before. Whatever makes the country people act as they do in these matters, it is not poverty alone.

On the second count, such a view is inadequate because it offers nothing further to learn. If the problem is a matter of wealth or of goods or of material conditions alone, supply the goods or right the wrong and the job is done. But such

580 a remedy tells us nothing about other and related problems of human life and social behavior. It offers a practical rule of thumb for a particular instance, no more. We are already well along the way to a science of the practical. The production and transportation and distribution of the necessary goods and material services should be done easily enough today. It awaits only the knowledge of the "human element." But a science of the human element, capable of predicting, manipulating, and directing the growth of social life and institutions, controlling for any purpose the forces of human emotion and habit and will, is lacking and continues so. It is lacking, for one reason, because too few people of all kinds, whether official, academic, or what not, are aware that it is needed, or willing to work to develop it.

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